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NATAL'S "NATIVE" EDUCATION (1917-1953) : EDUCATION FOR
SEGREGATION.

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ABSTRACT

The Natal Education Department's "Native" education system which functioned from 1910 to 1953 has often been termed a good example of "liberal" education for Africans. However an investigation into the administrative structure and curricula content of this education order proved that numerous similarities existed between "Native" education, as formulated by the Natal Education Department, and "Bantu" education as established by the Nationalist government as part of its apartheid program. "Native" education in Natal could be considered a forerunner of "Bantu" education. Both systems were designed to achieve similar aims, eg. to maintain the social divisions, aid in the reproduction of semi-skilled labour and bolster the reserve system and migrant labour system. Course content was geared, in both "Native" and "Bantu" education, to promote a specific way of life for the African - a life that was both rural and agrarian in nature. A continuity of both method and aim existed between the two education orders. In effect, despite the different rhetoric and arguments used by the authorities of these two education systems, both implemented systems aimed at maintaining segregation. Emphasis is placed on exposing the true character of "Native" education as well as developing the

argument that "Native" and "Bantu" education should be seen as the continuation of a specific education order rather than two distinct and different systems.

This study focuses on Natal's 'Native' education and reveals it as a system designed to promote segregation and protect white interests. It too did not have the true interests of African children at heart.

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NOTE ON SOURCES

It must be noted that the day-to-day records of the Natal Education Department's 'Native' section remain elusive for the period being studied. The existence of evidence such as daily correspondence, memorandums and letters are scarce. No known records remain with the Natal Education Department, nor with the Natal Archives. The Department of Education and Training also has none of these records.

However numerous published sources survive which allowed the researcher to piece together a comprehensive picture of the department's official policy and philosophy. Annual reports, individual school records, the departmental magazine, and reports in the Natal press were all used extensively.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

To many researchers, there seems to be a problem with the periodization of black education in South Africa. The key date, of course, is 1953 when the Bantu Education Act was passed. Many historians and researchers tend to visualize some sort of discontinuity between the education order which preceeded the act and the order which followed. Differences in the content and the processes utilized in black education were assumed. This thesis will try to demonstrate that this was not the case and that the period of provincial control must be seen as a necessary predecessor to the Bantu Education Act. What is more "Bantu" Education was able to implement a number of aims and goals which Natal's "Native" education system (1910-1953) had failed to actualize even though they had been central to the department's philosophy of education.

This thesis will focus specifically on Natal and the activities of the Natal Education Department, which from 1910 was responsible for administering black schooling in the province up until 1953. While the Natal Education Department followed a philosophy of education which had the appearance of keeping the interests of the black pupil at

heart, this philosophy was rather geared to the needs of white capitalist society. Natal was not unique in this respect among South Africa's other provinces; yet the contradiction was most blatant here as somehow Natal boasted the label of being the most "progressive" province when it came to black education. For example the African Education Commission under the auspices of the Phelps-Stokes foundation, which was decidedly liberal in outlook, reported that,

The (Natal) system is undoubtedly the most effective organization which the Education Commission observed anywhere in Africa. With adequate financial support and some improvements now in progress, the Natal system of Native schools should become the ideal for all other systems in Africa.¹

It is this reputation, (which liberals have claimed was destroyed when the Bantu Education Act transferred responsibility from the provinces to the central authorities), that needs to be scrutinized. On the assumption that education systems by their very nature will always promote a specific value set, this thesis will also attempt to understand the underlying motives that were to shape "Native" education (that is black education as formulated by the Natal Education Department prior to 1953). Much research has already been completed on the underlying objectives of "Bantu" education (as constituted by the Nation-

1 African Education Commission, quoted in the Report of the Provincial Committee on Native Education (N.P 5 / 1946), section IX, paragraph 361.

alist government after 1953.)² We will see whether the administration of the Natal Education Department's state and state-aided schools and the instruction given at these schools was aimed at the upliftment of the African scholar or whether it was really designed to perpetuate the social divisions that already existed in this province. In fact, when one compares hidden objectives it will be shown that "Native" education was not dissimilar from the highly institutionalized educational order that was to succeed it - that of "Bantu" education. However before we embark on an analysis of what African education really constituted in Natal prior to 1953, let us investigate the possible reasons why historians and researchers have traditionally considered a discontinuity to exist between "Native" education and "Bantu" education.

This perceived discontinuity is a consequence of the domination that "conservative" and "liberal" theories held in the sphere of education research and the fact that radical theorists were more concerned with studying which classes had access to education facilities rather than studying the actual processes involved in the act of formal teach-

2 Just a few examples would include: Lynn Maree, "The Hearts and Minds of the People." in Peter Kallaway (ed), Apartheid and Education, (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1984); I.B Tabata, Education for Barbarianism : Bantu Education in South Africa, (Durban, Prometheus, 1959).

ing. An example of the rhetoric used by the liberal theorists and educators to distinguish between the two education orders is illustrated below. "Bantu" education has been described in the following manner:

In black schools, control over education has been taken from local and missionary bodies, a "special" kind of education has been instituted...children have been taught the virtues of tribalism rather than modernism, syllabuses have been geared to economic demands which conceive the black man as a permanent peasant or proletarian, the teachers have been strictly controlled and mother tongue instruction has been instituted.³

However this thesis will argue in chapter three that the above quotation could just as easily be describing the content and aims of Natal's so-called liberal "Native" education. In another example, the S.A Outlook, a journal devoted to missionary affairs, reported on the implementation of the Bantu Education Act:

Many people are not happy with regard to the transfer of native education to the Union, especially in those provinces where in the past a liberal policy, in the true sense of that much abused term in South Africa, has been the rule rather than the exception.⁴

While "liberal" educationists and historians have promoted

3 Ian Alexander Robertson, "Education in South Africa: a study in the influence of ideology on educational practice.", (unpublished D.Ed thesis, Harvard University, 1973), p.227.

4 South African Outlook, Vol.83, October 1953, pp.149-150.

a view that liberal education was beneficial, and in no way damaging to African children in the way that "Bantu" education has been, conservative historians have tended to promote the opposite view. These historians and educationists mirror the criticisms of the Eiselen Commission which claimed that missionary schooling was unstructured and directionless due to the vagueness of its aims. This vagueness was a consequence of often divergent policies pursued by the different denominations within a system of educational administration which lacked any basis of co-operation between the different provinces.⁵ This camp felt it was necessary to have a unified and comprehensive plan for the overall development of the African people, a plan which all black schools should be forced to implement. It was the assumptions of these conservatives about the role the African people were to play in South African society that led to open opposition from the "liberals".

For many years, up until the early 1970's, the liberal and the conservative approaches dominated educational research in South Africa. The debate between them perpetuated the notion of a significant divide between the two education orders separated by the year 1953. In fact most liberals were not concerned specifically with Bantu Education. Many saw black schooling as being just one aspect of a more

5 B.Rose and R.Tunmer, Documents of South African Education, (Johannesburg, Donker, 1975) pp.246-248.

threatening issue on the education scene - that of Christian National Education, or as it became known later, Fundamental Pedagogics. Many liberals were concerned that this specific brand of educational philosophy affected not only black education but also white English-medium schooling. The works of E.G Malherbe, the leading liberal educationist of the 1950's and 1960's concentrated on what he saw as the invasion of Afrikaner Nationalist values into the white English-medium school system. Liberal concern over how Christian National Education affected black schooling was given only limited attention. In Malherbe's two volumes, Education in South Africa⁶, only one small chapter focuses on black schooling, where he discusses the need for industrial education.

In Europe during the 1960's radical intellectuals were concerned with studying the inequalities of school admission. They believed that class distinctions were perpetuated by either refusing entry to schools to the lower class or, as in more recent times, by reserving only the best schools for children of the upper classes. However little work was done on trying to understand the actual processes involved in the act of formal teaching, and the emphasis remained on determining "who-got-to-go-where".

6 E.G Malherbe, Education in South Africa, Vol II, (Cape Town, Juta, 1977). pp.193-197.

Only in the 1970's did a major change occur in the realm of radical educational research. This was primarily due to the work of Louis Althusser. As a consequence of his views on the role of education in society, he was to rejuvenate the direction of radical analysis. Now emphasis fell on the ways in which the state schooling system maintained the social relations of production through disseminating to children the values of the ruling elite and preparing them for a specific role in society. The school was seen as a tool of the ruling elite. As a consequence of this new emphasis interest in the works of Antonio Gramsci was renewed.

In South Africa the radical approach only emerged in the 1970's. Research projects following this new direction became more numerous after the 1976 Soweto riots, one of the targets of which had been the institutions of "Bantu" education. The journal Perspectives in Education was to carry most of the radical debate during the opening years of the 1980's but Peter Kallaway's compilation, Apartheid and Education⁷, published in 1984, became the definitive work from this paradigm on the theme of South African black education. These theorists argued that the aims and objectives of "Bantu" education were to produce a student who

7 Peter Kallaway (ed), Apartheid and Education, (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1984).

was both docile and co-operative and was therefore no threat to the status quo in South African society. However most of the research done by this group has been concentrated on black education either on the Reef or in the Cape Province. Very little has been done on Natal's black education system.

One of the reasons why education has received so little attention by Marxists until recently has been because of the dominance which Marx ascribed to economic factors in shaping all aspects of society, and the belief that "superstructural" elements, such as education, were merely epiphenomena. It has been due to the rise to prominence of the western or humanist Marxists, who attributed a large degree of autonomy to the superstructure, that these areas have been opened to investigation.

Theorists such as Antonio Gramsci and Louis Althusser, among others, argue that while the economic base shapes a society "in the final analysis", the superstructure plays an important role in attempting to maintain the status quo. In fact Gramsci has been criticized by classical Marxists for playing down the importance of the economic base; on occasion he has referred to economic developments as "mere incursions".⁸ Gramsci wished to understand how

8 See P. Anderson, 'The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci', New Left Review, No.100, p.9.

the ruling elite in the western world maintained its positions of power despite the exploitation of the subordinate classes. Gramsci developed a particular notion of hegemony to answer this question. Hegemony is a concept denoting the means by which the ruling class maintains its privileged position in society. The ruling class secures the consent of the subordinate class to the way that society is structured. Consent is maintained through the dissemination of beliefs and values from both civil and political institutions located in the superstructure. Civil institutions do this through predominantly consensual strategies (the promotion of social norms and values), whereas political institutions use predominantly coercive methods (eg. law courts, police). Gramsci states that in western society, "The normal exercise of hegemony...is characterized by a combination of force and consent which form variable equilibria, without force prevailing too much over consent."⁹ In effect the dominant class promoted a certain way of life and thought, an ideology, which was diffused, "throughout a society in all its institutional and private manifestations informing with its spirit all taste, morality, customs, religion, political principles and all social relations, particularly in their intellectual and moral connotations."¹⁰

9 Antonio Gramsci quoted in ibid., p.22.

10 Antonio Gramsci in A.S Sassoon, Approaches to Gramsci, (London, Methuen, 1982), p.94.

Gramsci's theories are important when investigating education systems because of the focus that he places on the institutions of "civil" society, (including schools), as being ideological tools for the maintenance of the social relations of production. What is more, the aim of these institutions is the active production of the acquiescence of the subordinate classes to the way society is structured. These institutions attempt to instil in the subordinate groups a sense that societal structures are natural, permanent and of worth to all members of that society. Hence the school can be seen as one device which the ruling elite can use to disseminate values which promote their own needs and interests.¹¹ Gramsci wrote from his experiences of education systems in fascist Italy.¹²

Having made a brief survey of the main tenets of Gramsci's theories, we must now consider the applicability of these theories to the South African context. Gramsci was writing



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- 11 In justice to Gramsci it must be stated that he saw absolute hegemony as an unobtainable ideal due to the emergence of counter-ideologies which challenged the official ideology. What existed in society was the existence of a war of position where both ideologies fought for the support of the masses. What is more the ruling elite would often have to compromise their stand in order to keep the support of the subordinate groups.
- 12 A.Gramsci, "Observations on the School: In Search of the Education Principle." in D.Forgacs (ed), A Gramsci Reader, (London, Lawrence & Wishart, 1988), pp.311-320.

primarily about a European situation. The education system under analysis belonged to a society which was well developed industrially and with well formed class divisions. Can we draw parallels between a European society and the education systems of this part of the African sub-continent? An important criticism made of Gramsci's theories is that it views the economic base as some abstract "given" entity. Consequently in this thesis the influence of the developing South African economy has been constantly monitored although a direct causal relationship is not sanctioned. The works of Harold Wolpe and other economists have been used in part to provide an analysis of the development of the South African mode of production during the period under investigation.¹³ The developing South African economy between 1900 and 1950, especially the growth in the industrial sector, the need for more semi skilled operators, black urbanization, rising worker militancy, and the underdevelopment of the reserve system were all to have an indirect influence on the educational policies which were formulated first by the Natal education department and later by the Department of Native Affairs. These issues and the need to reproduce labour power were factors which placed pressures on education officials.

13 Harold Wolpe, "Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid", Economy and Society, vol.1, 1972, pp.425-456.

However there are also numerous important parallels that do exist between the European and African experiences. "Bantu" education can easily be likened to the mass schools of the European type. "Bantu" education was the first attempt by the state to provide an education system for blacks which had a uniform character throughout the country in terms of both content and style of instruction. The African was taught to fill a specific role in society. "Bantu" education was also the country's first attempt at providing mass education for Africans. In many ways "Bantu" education was a fine example of what both Gramsci and Althusser believed the role of modern education to be. Numerous academic works have been written on the ideology which this education system purported to extol and the ideology which in reality it disseminated.¹⁴ These works clearly demonstrate that the hidden objectives of "Bantu" education were to maintain the privileged position of the ruling classes. The one major difference between the European societies and the South African example is that class lines in this country largely parallel racial divisions.

14 Studies are numerous a few examples must suffice. Pam Christie & Colin Collins, "Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology and Labour Reproduction", in Kallaway, Apartheid and Education, pp.160-183; A.M Mbere, "An analysis of the association between Bantu Education and Christian Nationalism: a study in the role of Ideology in Education, (unpublished Ed.d thesis, Harvard Un., 1979); I.A Robertson, "Education in South Africa".

Why should Natal's "Native" education system, an education scheme which preceded "Bantu" education be significant for investigation? If "Bantu" education most closely resembles the era of mass state schooling, which was the concern of most of Gramsci's theories, then the period of "Native" education will be of interest as that period in which the state began to realize the ideological value of the education system. The failings and successes of Natal's education system, as well as the manner in which the department justified the racial segregation of the province's education were to help shape the system which followed in 1953. While attempting to demonstrate the continuity between "Native" and "Bantu" education it will also be necessary to briefly investigate the colonial period of Natal's history and see to what extent African colonial education influenced the formation of Natal's "Native" education in the next century. It can also be argued that if "Bantu" education was to be a continuation of "Native" education then "Colonial" education in many ways influenced the Natal system. To this end the works of K.J King¹⁵, P. Foster¹⁶ and F. Molteno¹⁷, on the character of

15 K.J King, Pan Africanism and Education, (London, Oxford University Press) 1974.

16 P. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana, (London, RKG) 1965.

17 F. Molteno, "The Historical Foundations of the Schooling of Black South Africans" in P.Kallaway (ed), Apartheid and Education, (Johannesburg, Raven Press) 1984.

colonial society and the type of education structures that were established, has been used.

While demonstrating the continuity between the two education systems it will be the specific task of this thesis to determine to what extent we can argue against the claims of "liberal" theorists and educationists that Natal's system of "Native" education was quite different in both character and aims to the system which was to supersede it in 1953. The actions of the Natal Education Department will be analysed to determine to what extent the nature of this education system was really shaped by a desire to uplift African pupils through schooling or whether in reality even at this early stage in the evolution of state schooling a more sinister motivation lay behind the state's intervention. What is argued here is that "Native" education was a necessary predecessor to "Bantu" education and that the Nationalist government's education system was to take many of its features from the Natal prototype indicating the compatibility between what liberal theorists had claimed were opposed education orders.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GROWTH OF STATE INFLUENCE AND CONTROL OVER AFRICAN EDUCATION IN NATAL : 1835-1953.

The purpose of this chapter is to identify an increasing trend toward state intervention in the sphere of African education. However it follows that in order to fully appreciate the events of 1917-1953 in the area of African education it is necessary to indulge in a brief historical survey of the preceding period. In many ways "Native" education was to be founded on the administrative framework established in the colonial period, just as "Bantu" education was to rest heavily upon the administrative framework already constructed during the era of provincial control. This chapter will reflect on this inherited colonial framework and establish to what degree it was maintained in the early twentieth century. While this chapter is concerned with the methods of control introduced by the state to increase its influence in this sphere, it will also be necessary to tie in economic developments. Changes in the realm of education do not take place in isolation from economic trends (even though it would be dangerous to imply that there was a direct causal relationship). Hence this chapter will also outline the economic pressures that came to bear on the education structure of Natal's African

schooling system.

The relationship between the missions and the state in the realm of African education 1835-1910.

Between 1835 and 1915 missionaries emerged as the most concerned benefactors in the area of African education. Under their initiative numerous schools were opened. These schools were initially open to people of all colours. A few missionaries pre-empted any official involvement in this sphere simply because they arrived in Natal before the occupation of the area by the British authorities in 1843. Captain Allen Gardiner, a free-lance missionary, on failing to establish a mission station at Dingane's kraal, started a school for African children on the hills overlooking Port Natal; this he called Berea.¹ Newton Adams of the American Board Mission landed in Natal in 1836 and subsequently opened a school at Umlazi while in 1839 Aldin Grout opened a school near Umgeni.² One of the effects of the British occupation of Natal was an increase in the number of missionaries who flocked to the colony to set up missions.³ By the end of the nineteenth century Natal was to have a missionary population greater than anywhere else in the world.⁴

1 A.L Behr & R.G Macmillan, Education in South Africa, (Pretoria, J.L Schaik, 1971), p.381.

2 A.D Dodd, Native Vocational Training: A study of conditions in South Africa, 1652-1936, (Lovedale Press, 1938), p.59.

3 Prov of Natal (N.P 5/1946), Report of the Provincial Committee on Native Education (1946), p.23.

4 Pam Christie, The Right to Learn, (Johannesburg, Sached

The motivation of the missionaries in establishing schools for African children can easily be explained. A knowledge of the Bible was deemed to be important in the evangelization process. As access to the Bible required elementary skills in reading and comprehension, schooling was seen as a fundamental stage in the conversion of the "savage" to Christianity and civilization. On numerous mission stations throughout Natal, small schools were established, often within the small churches or chapels themselves. At this initial stage the missionaries had no intention of educating the entire mass of African children, as their motivation was to create a number of select literate African Christians. From these educated converts it was hoped African evangelists might be produced to assist in the salvation of their "brothers". The long list of mission schools that were established in Natal contains a number of institutions which were to become prestigious due to the quality of their instruction. These schools include Adams College, established in 1835 by the American Board mission, Inanda Seminary for girls, another American Board mission school founded in 1869, and St. Francis College built at Mariannhill in 1882 by the Catholic Trappist order.

In the first years of the colony's history the missionaries operated beyond formal secular controls in that

Trust/Ravan Press, 1985), p.65.

they determined the curriculum and the syllabus and utilized their own teaching methods. At first there were no guidelines from the colonial administration which held little regard for the welfare and progress of Africans. The British government was more concerned with the maintenance of law and order, defence and the exploitation of the African people.⁵ Hence it can be seen that initially the state, (in these early days the Cape colonial government and later the government of the Crown Colony of Natal), was little concerned with the provision of schooling for the African population of the new colony. However the type of education the missionaries disseminated rarely became an issue of dispute between the colonial officials and the missionaries. The church was to play a major role in converting many Africans to new values. It was believed that the best way to "civilize" Africans was to instil in them an acceptance of the Christian virtue of labour. Some historians have claimed that the missionaries set out "consciously and actively to promote economic differentiation and the formation of social classes".⁶ Whether the missionaries were conscious of this effect or not, it is true that over time their values did become more widely assimilated in Africans.

Attempting to administer the new colony as cheaply as possible

5 Keith Anderson (ed.), Education in the Third World, (London, Croom Helm, 1982), p.12.

6 Colin Bundy, The rise and fall of the South African Peasantry, (London, Heinemann, 1979), p.38

sible, the colonial government had opted for the "location policy" as set out by the Secretary of Native Affairs, Theophilus Shepstone. Africans, living in reserves, would remain within traditional political and legal systems which would exist separate but parallel to that of white political and legal structures in Natal. However the African chiefs were to remain subordinate to British rule. Shepstone believed that the separation of the races inherent in the reserve system was necessary in the name of security but also because it would encourage "the extension of civilization" in the Zulu. African upliftment, Shepstone believed, would result from the active promotion of industry and a cash economy. Christian values and westernized norms were to be disseminated through education. In 1858 Shepstone claimed that the teaching of morality should be on an equal footing with the need to "induce industry".⁷ While the colonial government was forthcoming with the land needed to form the reserves, money required to establish the industrial schools where "the useful arts" could "be taught and practically illustrated" never materialised.⁸

The government's non-involvement in the sphere of African education was questioned in 1853 by the Native Affairs Commission. It believed that the Natal government was

7 Peter Kallaway, "Colonial Education in Natal: the Zwartkop Government Native School, 1888-1892." in Perspectives in Education, 1988/9, Vol.10, No.2, p.19.

8 Edgar H. Brookes, The History of Native Policy in South Africa: from 1830 to the present day, (Cape Town, Nasionale Pers, 1924) p.29.

shirking its responsibility as it had made no systematic attempt to educate the African youth. While at first glance the concern of this commission seems to be of a humanitarian nature, the recommendations of what type of education should be implemented by the state reveal an ulterior motive. This commission, which comprised a number of white landowners, called for African children to be apprenticed to white farmers and for the establishment of government industrial schools in each village.⁹ There the similarities with Shepstone's recommendations ends. The true target of the settler commissioners was the size of the reserves which they felt dried up the "native" labour supply. Their recommendations were really designed to provide the white land owner with an abundant supply of "kafir labour for wages".¹⁰ However the colonial government effectively shelved the findings of this commission. The reserve system remained intact while no industrial schools were established either.

In the 1850's the imperial government also complained that only a small amount of colonial revenue was being spent on "native" education. However if the Colonial Office believed that with the occupation of a territory came certain responsibilities to the subject people, such as

9 F. Molteno, "The Historical context of Native Education: the evolution of educational policy" in Kallaway, Apartheid and Education, p.58.

10 E.H Brookes & C de B Webb, A History of Natal, (Pietermaritzburg, University of Natal Press, 1965), p.69.

education, then in contrast the agents of imperial government in Natal felt that control could better be maintained through more direct means. Lieutenant-Governor Pine replied to London saying that money was better spent on magisterial control and the maintenance of order than on education. Pine, in justifying his position, set forth a number of problems which faced the establishment of any African educational institutions in the colony at that time. Firstly, he claimed, African children would not come to school unless compulsion was used or the parents were paid compensation for the loss of their children's services. Secondly, competent individuals to conduct such schools were at that time unavailable. And thirdly, sites could not be chosen until the positions and boundaries of the locations were finally determined.¹¹

Pine openly believed that rather than build state schools it would be a better idea to subsidize the missionaries who had already established their own schools. In fact earlier in 1848 the colonial government had attempted to do this but had had to abandon the scheme when it came under fire from the white settlers. It was not until Ordinance 2 of 1856 was passed that extensive legislation supported the endeavours of the missions to educate the Zulu. The most important feature of this ordinance was that it allowed the government to extend financial grants in aid to the missions for the purposes of education. This

¹¹ Prov. of Natal (N.P/1946), Report of the Provincial Committee on Native Education, chap.II.

ordinance also called for the inspection of the funded schools by state supervisors, and it stipulated that all teachers at these schools had to be "approved" by the government. Hence by 1856 the state did have some small influence in the schooling of Africans in Natal.

However state control over the education of all races in the colony was tenuous in the 1850's and the effective authority in this sphere lay with the missionaries. Consequently in 1858 a Select Committee of the Legislative Council was appointed to look into colonial education to suggest improvements. The committee's recommendations called for no drastic changes but did advise the creation of a central board of education to better administer government grants, appoint inspectors and screen teachers. This board was established in the following year.

The issue of providing schooling must be seen in the context of the labour shortage that the white settlers were experiencing. The settler community was by no means united in its view on the need to provide schooling for Africans. One camp maintained that schools kept children away from the fields and as only unskilled labourers were required it was pointless to provide them with an academic education. The opposing camp argued that it was necessary to send African children to school so that they might be instructed in the merits of labour. This group believed the

reason for the labour shortage lay with the creation of the reserve system. In these areas of subsistence production Africans felt no compulsion to enter into labour contracts with white colonists. As the reserve system appeared to be entrenched, many white settlers began to see education as a means of generating an African labour supply. This perspective found official recognition only twenty years later in the recommendations of the 1878 Select Committee. This committee had been appointed to consider ways of increasing the labour supply. It claimed that in order to create in the new generation of Africans new habits which would improve the labour supply in the future, industrial schools had to be made compulsory. The committee recommended that the Lieutenant-Governor, as supreme chief, should require and compel the attendance of African children at schools giving an "industrial and educational training".¹²

The view that education for Africans should be designed to produce labourers for work on the European commercial and agricultural stands is reflected in these remarks made by a white settler to the 1873 Select Committee:

If Natives are to be taught at all, they should be taught industry. I do not myself see much use in teaching the Natives to read and write without teaching them to make use of their hands as well. Industrial instruction should form the most important part of Native schooling.¹³

¹² Ibid. paragraph 203.

¹³ Evidence before the Natal Native Commission of 1881, quoted from Rose & Tumner, Documents in South African Education,

Another witness is recorded as saying that in his eyes, "schools for natives should give two hours a day to reading and writing and three hours to manual labour."¹⁴

After the Anglo-Zulu war of 1879 which effectively broke up the influence of the traditional Zulu state, and the incorporation of Zululand into the colony, colonial officials felt the need for a means to harness the labour potential of the Zulu population. The passing of the 1884 Native Education Primary Law (No.1) enhanced the ability of the colonial government to shape such aspects of African education as curriculum. The law's emphasis on industrial training in the mission schools is consistent with the findings of the 1878 commission as it offered a means to enlarge the labour population. This law, which gave the Council of Education the power to direct the management, report on, visit and inspect mission schools, also reserved the right of the council to shape the course of instruction. This law further outlined a simple syllabus to be used as a guideline in government aided primary schools. It consisted of English, Zulu, arithmetic, elements of "industrial training", sewing for girls and "instruction in the principles of morality".¹⁵

This legislation also marks a new direction in the colo-

pp.213-214.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ C.T Loram, The Education of the South African Native, (London, Longmans, 1917), p.57.

nial schooling system, as for the first time a law concerning education differentiated between whites and blacks. Earlier that year all state-aided schools had become segregated. Previously these schools had been open to all races of the colony with the stipulation to black scholars that they must conform in all respects to European habits and customs.¹⁶ Under this Act an inspector of "Native" education was appointed; the first incumbent of this office was F.B.Fynney and it was under his guidance, backed by the Native Primary Education Law, that the government began to implement and promote African education with a definite industrial emphasis. In 1887 the colony's first state school was erected for African children. The Zwartkop Government Industrial School, as its name clearly states, was aimed at providing Africans with an education in industrial skills. Fynney reported that in the first year some 40 000 bricks were made by the pupils of this school, as well as a new workshop erected. Also some twelve acres of land were cultivated and 1 000 trees were planted.¹⁷ However despite the glowing reports made by the Inspector of "Native" education about Zwartkop this state experiment with industrial schooling was far from a success. Due to numerous problems, such as the lack of local support, mismanagement and exorbitant costs, the school only survived for a few years¹⁸. The Zwartkop ex-

16 Behr & Macmillan, Education in South Africa pp.381-387

17 Colony of Natal, Report of the Inspector of Native Education, June 1892.

18 Peter Kallaway, "Colonial Education in Natal: The Zwartkop Government Native School, 1888-1892." in Perspectives in Education, 1988/9, Vol 10, No.2,

periment revealed to the education officials that to replace academic schooling with industrial education was a costly venture. Industrial schools required equipment, workshops and skilled artisans as teachers. Hence the education officials looked for ways to encourage the missionaries to teach industrial subjects and in doing so contribute to the cost of this type of education.

In 1888 the Council of Education, in an effort to promote industrial education, reorganized its grant-in-aid program to encourage endeavour in this field. The mission schools with state aid were reclassified according to their involvement in industrial instruction. Those schools which provided "regular industrial instruction" received the highest grants, while those schools which taught regular manual work or field work received less than the first category but still more than those schools which offered a purely academic syllabus.¹⁹

Despite this incentive for missionaries to add an industrial slant to their curricula, most of the mission schools still supported an academic education. Subjects on offer included English History, Bible History, Geography, Grammar, Physics, Chemistry, Elementary Latin and French.²⁰ However Fynney was emphatic about the need for

pp.17-32.

19 Dodd, Native Vocational Training, p.62.

20 Loram, Education, p.58.

industrial training for Africans. He claimed that, "No training can be regarded as industrial which does not provide for the teaching of trades or agriculture or some productive labour that would enable the student to earn a living."²¹

However by the early 1890's white settler complaints about the content of African education demonstrated that Fynney's ideas on the necessity of industrial instruction were not always viewed favourably by a large sector of the white population. When Responsible Government was introduced in 1893 a new era in Natal politics was ushered in; the influence of the imperial government was reduced and a greater responsibility for colonial affairs now rested with the white settlers themselves. In the realm of African education a number of changes were implemented by the new settler government. Due to settler agitation against the promotion of industrial instruction which taught trades instead of simple manual labour, legislation was passed which stipulated which schools should receive grants. No grants were made to African schools which produced goods which were likely to compete with similar items, produced by white tradesmen, in the market place. Consequently by 1898 large numbers of industrial teaching staff had been dismissed and school workshops closed; and although this agitation was to ease off by 1902 and the government was again forthcoming, missionaries remained

21 Ibid.

dubious about starting up any new programs to promote any form of technical training.²² While the vast majority of white settlers were in opposition to a purely academic curriculum for African children they were not unanimous in their support for industrial instruction which tended to provide Africans with a specific trade. Many felt that Africans should be instructed not so much in "industrial" work but rather in "manual" labour.

With Responsible Government the administrative structure of African education was also to be revised. The Council of Education was replaced by a Department of Education under the guidance of the superintendent of education who was in charge of a number of sub-departments, one of which administered African education. As a direct consequence of the Bambata Rebellion of 1906, a commission was appointed to investigate the problems facing Africans in the colony. On its recommendation an African advisory board was established in 1907. The board contained two African members and a number of missionaries, and its function was to provide the government with information on developments in the sphere of African education. What the establishment of this board suggests is that the government was forced to admit that its authority over African schools, through the system of financial grants, was barely significant. The education department realized that in many ways it did not wield a great deal of influence, but it did decide to

22 Dodd, Native Vocational Training, pp.63-68

further expand its grant system. Horrell points out that from this date onwards grants to mission schools were slowly increased and extended until by 1912 the Natal Education Department helped fund 232 African primary schools, five industrial centres, and three African teacher training colleges through the expenditure of 14 000 pounds per annum.²³

One aspect as yet not addressed in this section is the response of Africans themselves to schooling prior to 1910. While missionaries and settlers might have disagreed over what should constitute the main thrust of African education, in the eyes of most nineteenth century African leaders all westernized schooling encouraged conformity with European values.²⁴ Although highly suspicious of the missionaries' intentions, African chiefs often accepted them as intermediaries, healers and traders. But the chiefs were initially successful in resisting attempts to break down traditional value systems and authority structures. Norman Etherington has illustrated to what lengths certain chiefs would go to protect customary values and practices:

Whole tribes moved away from stations, parents withdrew their daughters from mission schools and rotated their sons so that they might earn shirts and wages without risking conversion. Magic and medicines were administered to individuals who seemed to be moving towards church

23 M. Horrell, "African Education: Some origins and developments until 1953", (pamphlet, SAIRR, Johannesburg, 1963), p.19.

24 Loram, Education, p.58.

membership.²⁵

Etherington goes on to say that the reasons why Africans did go to the mission stations were often of a predominantly secular nature. They went looking for work, food or perhaps refuge from local hardship.

It has been calculated by one researcher that in 1870 only some 1683 African children were actually at school in Natal.²⁶ While this source might be dubious it is fair to claim that the black school going population was a small fraction of the total of all black children. An illustration which demonstrates Africans' cautious acceptance of formal education can be found in the guarded recommendations of the 1882 Natal Native Commission. It claimed that there was little desire among Africans for education, and although the commission did not anticipate African opposition to the establishment of schools in the locations it did feel it would be prudent to begin with "tribes known to be favorably disposed" and to concentrate initial efforts on small tribes, "partly because any opposition would be of a lesser moment."²⁷

One of the official reasons given for the closure of the government Industrial school at Zwartkop was due to lack

25 N. Etherington, "Social theory and the study of Christian missions in Africa: a South African case study", Africa, Vol 47 no.1 (1977); also quoted in Christie Right to Learn, p.69.

26 Horrell, African Education, p.19; also Report of the Natal Native Commission of 1882, quoted in Molteno, "Historical context of Native Education",

of local support. In 1892 the school was forced to close down as it had failed to attract sufficient scholars to make it a viable concern. Robert Plant, the inspector of education, believed that one of the reasons for the school's failure was the lack of support from the local chiefs.²⁸ Plant reported in 1889,

When I urged them (the Africans) to send their children the reply I got was, "Our chiefs are our mouthpiece of the government to us; we have not been told by them to send the children and until we are told to we shall not send them."²⁹

African chiefs feared that the establishment of schools in their districts would undermine their own positions of authority. Horrell has estimated that by 1912 African school enrolment for Natal stood at 18 000 students.³⁰ While this represented a vast increase over the 1870 figure, it was still only a fraction of the total number of African children of school-going age in Natal.

However the late nineteenth century saw the erosion of "traditional authority" and the increase in number of educated Africans who questioned or abandoned the authority

p.53.

27 Report of the Natal Native Commission of 1882.

28 Kallaway, "Colonial Education in Natal", pp.25-29. believes that it was possible the local chief was reluctant to give his support to the school because he feared he would be held responsible for the cost of the unpaid school buildings. However his ability to influence the behaviour of his people is evidence of the power which these chiefs could wield over the local population.

29 Loram, Education, p.60.

30 Horrell, "African Education", p.26.

of African chiefs. Other factors, such as the restructuring of Zululand's political hierarchy as a result of the Anglo-Zulu War, aided this process. However what was to slowly change African perceptions of the worth of education can be identified in the changing material base of African society as their land was expropriated and the reserves became more crowded. "Traditional" rural values and culture no longer provided adequate guidelines for survival in the face of capitalist penetration. Many Africans began to move to the towns. African economic activities began to change as they were drawn into wage labour. By the end of the nineteenth century, an increasing number of Africans began to equate education with a possible route into the emergent capitalist economy in Natal. The Thomas Committee (1946) reported that in the first quarter of the twentieth century a demand for schooling among Africans started to become more evident. In the year 1914, Africans were contributing one quarter of the cost of their education, through the erection of local school buildings and the paying of school fees. Also by 1917 there were some 300 unaided schools in existence.³¹

These unaided schools, or private schools, were an indication of the rising African demand for education at the turn of the century. In a number of cases certain individ-

31 Province of Natal (N.P/1946), Report of the Provincial Committee on Native Education, Chap.2, section II, paragraph 106.

uals started up their own schools for Africans without any state aid and only slight missionary influence. Perhaps the most famous example was John Dube's Ohlange Institute established in 1901. Ohlange emphasized the virtues of self-help and hard work and stressed teaching of knowledge and skills that people could use for their material self-improvement. This school had an extensive industrial department. The Ohlange Institute grew to become one of Natal's premier schools.

To sum up the trends of the nineteenth century, schooling in the colonial period was perceived by different interest groups in different ways. Black interest in this sphere is characterised initially by a cautious approach but gives way in the later part of the century to a growing demand for formal education. A demand rooted in the belief that a knowledge gleaned from schools would aid the African child assimilate himself into the new capitalist society. The missionaries saw schooling as a means to assist the evangelization process, and hence stressed the importance of an academic slant to the curriculum with major emphasis on reading and writing. However, in the eyes of white settlers an academic curriculum for Africans seemed ludicrous. Their interest in African education stemmed almost directly from their labour requirements. Hence white settlers can be roughly divided into four groups: first, those who could see no advantage in educating Africans at all. A second group felt that instruction in "manual" skills was all that was required. A third group perceived education as being an ideal tool to assimilate Africans to

the virtues of wage labour. While the fourth group felt that Africans should be encouraged to take up a trade and enter the ranks of skilled labour. The perceptions of each group were determined largely by their own economic interests.

Turning attention on to the administration of African education within the province of Natal between 1910-1953 requires one to appreciate that the province was to experience sustained industrial growth during this period. During the nineteenth century labour requirements in the colony were fulfilled without the need of an extensive school system bearing in mind that the bulk of the labourers were unskilled, and specialized knowledge was not necessary. The majority of African children did not attend school, and of those that did most stayed only a couple of years. At this early stage of Natal's economic growth African workers were not organized into trade unions and were easily controlled and disciplined through the use of supervision and repression.

Growing state intervention in "Native" education 1910-1953.

In the first half of the twentieth century Natal experienced new social pressures as a consequence of industrial growth. Increasingly, from the time of Union onwards, the Natal provincial authorities were to appreciate the various ideological functions of an education system designed specifically for Africans. However, African education would never be an effective instrument if only a small

percentage of the black population actually attended school. Consequently as more and more African parents demanded an education for their children based on the belief that they would be more likely to succeed in the new capitalist society, the shortage of school accommodation became increasingly worrisome to education officials. On the other hand as the century progressed the financial strain on the various missions increased dramatically. The missions tried to accommodate the increasing numbers of African children but were faced with exorbitant costs. By the early 1940's many mission boards were in a state of financial crisis.³² The reason for the success of the Natal Education Department's expansion into the field of African education in this century is due in part to the financial struggle facing most mission schools. Many of these schools were to surrender their autonomy in order to qualify for a state grant. Hence the first half of the twentieth century was characterized by the province assuming greater influence in the realm of African education as the missionaries were forced to relinquish much of their control.

From the time of Union in 1910 most aspects of African administration were transferred to the Department of Native Affairs in Pretoria but the responsibility for African ed-

32 Jonathan Hyslop, "The concepts of Reproduction and Resistance in the Sociology of Education: The case of the transition from "missionary" to "Bantu" education 1940-1955.", ASSA Conference, Cape Town, 1985, p.15.

ucation was to remain with the provinces. Officially the Natal superintendent of education remained the ultimate authority in the sphere of African education in the province. From this date onwards the superintendent was to attempt to consolidate his department's position as the authority in this field, and a policy of greater influence over the control of African education was instituted.

As the state increasingly intervened in the sphere of African education, it was decided by the Natal Education Department in 1917 to appoint a Chief inspector of Native Education. The first incumbent of this office was C. T. Loram. He immediately set about reorganizing his sub-department. Loram has been labelled a liberal by some scholars³³, but he was also an advocate of segregation. Segregation was a policy in vogue in liberal circles during the first three decades of this century. Loram claimed that the interests of all races could best be protected by decreasing the incidences of social contact between them, through segregation. The benefits of segregation lay in the prevention of "race deterioration", in the preservation of "race integrity", and, most important, in allowing each race group the opportunity to build up and develop its own "race life". The liberal theorists of the day called for a gradual movement towards a "dual" society in which whites and blacks would live in parallel and sepa-

33 One such source is R.Hunt Davis Jr., "Charles T Loram and the American model for African Education in South Africa", in Kallaway, Apartheid and Education, p.109.

rate, yet equal, societies.³⁴ Loram was to design such a policy for the Natal Education Department's "Native" section.

Implicit in this notion of segregation was the belief that Africans were as yet immature and were not capable of taking full responsibility for their own government. Consequently, Loram believed that whites had a responsibility to rule blacks in the capacity of trustee, allowing Africans to develop as "naturally" as possible. Notwithstanding his segregationist views Loram also believed it was the duty of liberals to encourage African development. For Loram education was the means to this end. Loram was the first education official in Natal to have a definite blueprint for African education.

Loram realized that in order for his educational philosophy to be actualised it was necessary to extend government influence and interaction throughout the sphere of African education. Loram understood the limitations of the financial grant scheme which allowed intervention in mission schools to exist effectively on no more than an advisory level. This scheme made it almost impossible to bring about any far-ranging changes to the education system. In Loram's eyes education in Natal schools had to be standardized and all dissenting views eliminated. Loram commented in his 1919 report that, "Legitimate demands for

34 Ibid. p.121.

education were being sympathetically met but the patchwork system of administration has ceased to be adequate and must be replaced by a simpler and more clearly defined organization."³⁵ As a result of denominational rivalry the establishment of mission schools had often led to duplication in some areas while other areas lacked facilities all together. In 1918 Loram launched a scheme to further extend government influence in an effort to bring about a more uniform schooling system. The Natal Education Department was not in a financial position to simply take over all the existing schools, yet a plan was initiated which was designed to accomplish this over an extended period. He outlined this scheme in his 1919 annual report:

Signs are not wanting that the financial burden of maintaining schools is becoming more than the missions can carry and the government realizing more fully its obligations in the matter of Native education, proposes to establish a number of government schools for Natives in the near future.³⁶

The first African government school had been established in 1915 in Durban. This school was founded on the initiative of the municipality which, having accumulated profits from its beer monopoly, had offered to allocate a site and build a school. The Natal Education Department's responsibility had been to run the school, appoint and pay teachers, set down a curriculum and administer the institution.³⁷

35 Province of Natal, Report of the Superintendant of Education for 1919, (N.P 4/1920), p.37.

36 Province of Natal, Report of the Superintendant of Education for 1918, (N.P/1919), p.49.

In the eyes of the Natal Education Department the 1915 Durban government school had proved a success and turned out to be the first of many as a result of a new policy which advocated the need for state schooling. However, besides the establishment of new African schools, the department also envisaged the "take-over" of existing mission schools. Loram believed that ultimately all schools should come under direct government control. Loram reported, "It is not proposed to close down the mission schools or injure them in any way. All that will be done is that the department will where necessary gradually take over schools from the missionaries."³⁸

As the establishment of government African schools was a long term project, the Chief Inspector realized the continued importance of departmental inspection of the African state-aided schools. In 1918 there were 342 of these schools in Natal, and they were still the most common type of African school. Government inspection and annual exam-

37 From 1915 onwards it was possible to identify three types of African educational institutions: government schools (run entirely by the N.E.D), government-aided schools (those schools which received a government grant and whose syllabuses and methods were supervised by a system of education department inspectors) and unaided or private schools (These were usually African schools which were often beyond any government control).

38 Jonathon Hyslop, "The concepts of reproduction and resistance in the sociology of education: the case of the transition from "missionary" to "Bantu" education. 1940-1955.", Paper presented at ASSA Conference, Cape Town, 1985.

inations were often the governments only link with these schools, besides the issuing of official circulars. Usually government inspectors doubled as both instructors (in which they would provide model lessons and offered advice to teachers on teaching methods), and as examiners (in which they would determine which pupils should be promoted to higher grades).

Loram realized the importance of the advisory capacity which the inspector held and saw this as vastly more important than that of examiner. In 1917 Loram had written that, "while examinations were necessary, the inspector's main function should be that of supervisor. The chief function of the supervisor is to continue the training of teachers."³⁹ Loram realized that through the efforts of inspectors, the government-aided schools took on a character which was at least sympathetic to the official ideology of segregation. Owing to a shortage of inspectors in 1919 Loram altered the nature of the inspectors' duties, so that they "became to a greater extent supervisors and advisers and to a lesser extent examiners."⁴⁰ Hoping to increase the number of inspection visits to two for each school per annum (one for instruction and one to conduct examinations) Loram increased his staff of inspectors. Previously inspections had been carried out by white officials but in keeping with his segregationist policy he ap-

³⁹ Loram, Education, p.88.

⁴⁰ Province of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1918, (N.P 4/1919), p.44.

pointed African staff members as assistants and organizers under the existing white officials.⁴¹ To Loram it seemed right that ultimately African inspectors should be used to advise African teachers.

Loram was concerned about those schools that fell outside government influence. In Natal a fair number of private and unaided schools existed which received no government grant and therefore conducted their teaching programs outside any official control. Loram reported in 1918 that there were some 300 schools known to his department which were neither supported nor supervised by the government. He commented further,

It is also felt that it is not desirable that so large a number of schools should teach without any supervision by the government. Plans are therefore under consideration for the establishment of a new type of government school, the sub-primary.⁴²

He extended to them what became known as sub-primary status. These schools were below the acceptable standard for inclusion into the ranks of the aided institutions but had the potential to become aided schools in the future. With sub-primary status came a small financial incentive paid over a three-year period which was to be used to re-organize the school so that it could then qualify for the larger state subsidy.

41 Natal Education Department, "Natal Education Department 1849-1949: Then and Now", pamphlet (1949), pp.39-44.

42 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1918 (N.P 4/1919) p.49.

Besides the attempts to increase government control over the schools that were involved in black education, the education department also tried to standardize the curriculum of each school. Previously no detailed standard curriculum had existed as each mission group preferred to emphasize those subjects which promoted their own denominational interests. As the government assumed the responsibility for an increasing number of schools so Loram strove to implement a standard curriculum which would promote his segregationist views.⁴³

The dissemination of Loram's segregationist philosophy rested heavily upon the teachers and it is therefore not surprising that the education department was also concerned over the training of teachers. The teacher was obviously the front line in the dissemination process. No matter how detailed the official syllabus might be it was ultimately the competence, enthusiasm and attitude of the teacher which the children used to gauge the importance of the material being taught. Hence the Natal Education Department extended its influence to the teacher training colleges. By 1919 all teacher training colleges were state aided and hence followed a syllabus which the education department had formulated. The course offered at colleges such as Adams, Edendale, Umpumulo, St. Chads and

43 The details of this curriculum for segregation are dealt with in detail in chapter three.

Mariannhill stretched over a three-year period (1st Grade Certificate), but courses over both one and two years were also available (3rd and 2nd Grade).⁴⁴

Loram was also behind a number of other schemes designed to continue the education of the teacher, preserve uniformity in the content of "Native" education and maintain teacher enthusiasm. In October 1919 the first issue of the Native Teachers' Journal was published and circulated to all teachers and grantees. This quarterly was designed to keep the teacher up-to-date with any changes in the curriculum or syllabuses and to provide advice on what teaching methods to use. It aimed at keeping the scattered teaching community on a similar path and explain and promote the official syllabus as well as the philosophy inherent in it. In the first issue the editor explained that

One of the drawbacks of Native work is the isolation of the schools. Each school has been more or less of a unit, working without reference to other schools. Very often our teachers become lonely and dispirited and feel that the difficulties and disappointments are too great to bear...We want the Teachers Journal to be a means (of exchange between the) Department, grantees, teachers and others interested in Native Education. We are all engaged in the same work and the Journal will enable us to discuss matters with one another. At the same time it will be a channel through which the department can issue its notices.⁴⁵

44 Province of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1918, (N.P/1919), p.45

45 Native Teachers Journal, Vol 1 no.1, 1919, p.16.

This journal was deemed a success by the education department and consequently remained in publication right up until 1954 when it was replaced by a similar journal, The Bantu Education Journal, distributed by the Union Department of Native Affairs.

Loram also tried to keep African teachers informed through the Native Teachers Library which, although housed in Pietermaritzburg, had a large membership as it was based on the correspondence principle. The catalogue of available books was printed in the Native Teachers' Journal and loans were dispatched by post. By 1919 the library already held 500 books and 187 paying subscribers.⁴⁶ Another of Loram's schemes was the bi-annual teacher vacation course. These "winter" and "summer" courses were designed for unqualified teachers and were supposedly compulsory for sub-primary school teachers.⁴⁷ Each vacation course was held in a different part of the province. Two hundred African teachers attended the winter school held at Mariannhill in July 1919. At this winter school lectures were given to the teachers on "school administration", "principles of education" (both given by Loram himself), "the basis of teaching" and "new methods in day schools", besides lectures on specific subject syllabuses.⁴⁸ Like the journal, the vacation courses were aimed at bringing some degree of standardization to the teaching methods used at African

46 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1919, (N.P 4/1920), p.35.

47 Ibid.

48 Ibid.

schools. However in keeping with the policy of segregation, in 1919 white teachers who taught at African schools attended a separate vacation course especially for European teachers in "native" schools held in Pietermaritzburg.⁴⁹

Even though Loram's term of office was short, (1918-1920) his influence must be deemed as important as his work was to shape the character of Natal's "Native" education for many decades to come. Loram was the first education department official determined to standardize African schooling in Natal. D. Mck Malcolm, who succeeded Loram in 1921 as chief inspector, consolidated Loram's policies. On Malcolm's retirement in 1945, the Native Bantu Teachers Union claimed that if Loram could be considered the "architect" of African education in Natal then Malcolm most definitely was its "builder".⁵⁰ Although Malcolm was to become gradually more amenable to arguments in favour of a degree of racial integration he was to persist in the belief that Africans should preserve their "traditional" identity. In the early years of Malcolm's term there was little difference between the two chief inspectors in terms of administrative style, and Malcolm was to adopt and extend Loram's administrative structure.

Malcolm was to continue Loram's lead in the establishment

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ N.T.J., Vol 23 no.3, April 1945, p.66.

of state schools, both through the building of new schools and the "take-over" of mission schools which had been struggling to meet their financial requirements. Malcolm too believed that it was only a matter of time until 'all primary schools should become state schools.'⁵¹ By 1926 the number of state schools for Africans in Natal had risen sharply to sixty-six. In that year these schools taught approximately 6 530 pupils in contrast to the 487 mission schools which catered for 35 573 African scholars.⁵² The number of state schools was to continue to grow throughout Malcolm's term of office, and then again under his successor S.R Dent. The table below illustrates the degree to which state control did expand in the years under investigation.

Table 1 also illustrates that more and more mission schools began to accept the government grant and become aided schools, thereby allowing the government a limited amount of control over them.

51 Province of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1934, (N.P 7/1935), p.54.

52 E.J Murphy, "Bantu Education in South Africa; Its compatibility with the contrasting objectives of African self development and white domination." (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Connecticut, 1973), pp.65-68.

53 Table adapted from information in the Chief Inspector's annual published reports between 1937 -1952. Previous to this the figures from the Superintendent of Education reports have been used.

YEAR / No. STATE SCHOOLS / NO. AIDED SCHOOLS		
<hr/>		
1915	-	302
1920	50	418
1925	66	429
1930	80	616
1937	100	650
1940	142	652
1945	215	779
1950	253	861
1952	261	889

Malcolm was also to enlarge further the staff of inspectors to supervise these new aided schools. By 1930 Malcolm's staff included five European inspectors, two European instructors and six African supervisors. At the same time Malcolm was very concerned about the existence of private schools outside his department's control; he therefore extended Loram's "sub-primary" scheme. In 1926 twenty-eight sub-primary schools were in existence.⁵⁴

This scheme experienced difficulties in the 1930's when the Education Department faced a series of budget cuts as a result of the world-wide depression. In 1929 Malcolm had claimed that 85 schools, which had conformed to the regulations governing aided schools, were waiting for a

⁵⁴ Prov. of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1926, (N.P 4/1926), p.24.

grant. Yet by 1931, in the South Midlands district alone, six schools, which had gained aided status earlier, had had to revert back to sub-primary status due to the financial crises and the reduction in government expenditure.⁵⁵ The lack of funds during the depression was to limit severely the expansion of state intervention in the field of African education. In 1930/31 there was no expansion of the state school program, and in May 1932 teacher salaries at government-aided African schools were reduced for the second time.⁵⁶

While state expansion had temporarily come to a stop due to a lack of funding, Malcolm became concerned over his inability to do anything to control private schools. In 1929 he called for legislation which would allow his department to inspect these private institutions, as he believed that generally "conditions in many of these schools were disgraceful, both from a health as well as an educational point of view."⁵⁷ In 1931 Malcolm's opinion was endorsed in the report of the inspector for Zululand, S.B Theunissen:

Irresponsible private schools are considered to be a serious menace to the native people. Under this heading may be placed the schools which are not under the direct aegis of a recognized church or not located on sites for which a cer-

55 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1931, p.38. (see report of S.R Dent, inspector for South Midlands).

56 N.T.J., vol.9 no.4 (July 1932), p.237.

57 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1929. (N.P 3/1930), p.61.

tificate of occupation is held. As a rule they are opened as a result of sectional denominational rivalry, anti-white propaganda, or a desire on the part of some disaffected or disciplined member who wishes to harm the existing schools. It may generally be said that these schools are badly housed and badly staffed. As they are conducted on private premises no action seems possible without special legislation.⁵⁸

Then in 1932 Malcolm reported further:

The number of privately conducted schools is considerable, a conservative estimate being that there are over 500 in Natal and Zululand. As these schools receive no sort of supervision or control they are a potential danger to the state. It is urged that the need for legislation to compel them to conform to certain standards in regard to buildings, quality of teachers and curriculum should be seriously considered by the government.⁵⁹

As it had been estimated that some 300 unaided schools, teaching some 7 000 pupils had been in existence in 1917,⁶⁰ Malcolm must have been alarmed at the continued growth despite his state school program.

In an attempt to reduce the competition between rival denominations as well as between approved schools and private ones, the Natal Education Department in conjunction with the Native Affairs Department made it mandatory that no school could be erected within a five-mile radius of a registered school. The support of the local chiefs was

58 Province of Natal, The Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1931, p.31.

59 Province of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1932, (N.P 5/1932), p.44.

60 Statistic in, Province of Natal, Report of the Provincial Committee on Native Education (1944-1946), (N.P 5/1946), pp.49-51.

sought in closing down those schools which violated this rule. As a result numerous mission societies came forward to register their schools in order to "secure the stability of their work".⁶¹ However this policy was to be only partly successful and the number of private schools hardly diminished. At times the education department urged these schools to volunteer for inspection.⁶² The Department also passed regulations whereby standard 5 pass cards (which were needed if a pupil wished to advance to standard 5 at a government school) were obtainable only from the government and government aided schools. If a proprietor of a private school wanted these passes he had to invite the head teacher from the nearest government-aided school to attend the final exam, and mark the scripts. This way the government had some influence over what was to be examined and any candidate whose answers reflected "anti-white propaganda" or "unacceptable" values could be detected.

In 1942 the Natal Education Ordinance (No.23 of 1942) made it compulsory for proprietors of private schools to make written application to the Director of Education for the registration of their schools. If a proprietor failed to comply with this request then the ordinance made provision for a penalty to be applied.⁶³ Despite the ordinance, by

61 Province of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1934, (N.P 7/1935), p.52.

62 N.T.J Vol XIX (No.4), July 1940, p.165.

63 N.T.J Vol XX (No.2), January 1943, p.54.

1951 only 274 private schools had been registered with the Director.⁶⁴ This might indicate that previous estimates were somewhat exaggerated, but it is more likely that other private schools existed whose proprietors were ignorant of the ruling. Most private school tended to be a one teacher institution set up in some remote area. For example in 1939 a minister, Mr Timothy Mtambela, operated a school of less than 20 pupils situated some 35 km outside Durban. He rented a wattle-and-daub hut washing the owner's clothes once a week. On Sundays the hut became a church hall for his small congregation. In 1941 the school was eventually taken over by the Natal Education Department and was known then as the Gillits Government Native School.⁶⁵ Unregistered private schools continued to operate until the Bantu Education Act of 1953 made it a criminal offence for anyone "to establish, conduct or maintain a Bantu school" unless it had been registered.⁶⁶

While the education department struggled to gain control of African schools in the province it was also aware of the need to attract pupils to these schools. Although in reality those schools that did exist were often filled to capacity, Malcolm commented on the large number of children and their parents who seemed indifferent to education. For the year 1932 it was estimated that of the

64 Province of Natal, Report of the Director of Education for 1951 (N.P 6/1955), p.84.

65 Killie Campbell Press Book No.9 ("Bantu Education"), Newspaper untitled but dated 3/5/1941 and headed "Worked 9 years for no pay".

66 Horrell, Bantu Education, pp.6-9.

250 000 African children of school-going age in the province only 55 000 were receiving regular schooling.

Free schooling, which meant that the parent was not liable for any school fees (although books and equipment still had to be obtained), was introduced by the Natal Education Department to all government and government-aided institutions in 1941. Malcolm's Department introduced an equipment grant which it paid to the head teachers in lieu of the annual school fees. At first this grant was worth 3/- per head per annum, but by 1948 was increased to 6/- as the previous sum was hopelessly inadequate.⁶⁷ A start with free books was made in 1943.⁶⁸ In 1944 Malcolm was to institute another scheme in his final year as chief inspector - that of school meals. Initially at a cost of 2d a plate, meals were provided at 603 schools to 83 313 pupils.⁶⁹ Malcolm believed the school meal service was important as it struck at the root of a major social problem, that of malnutrition, as it built up the children's resistance to diseases.⁷⁰ By 1945 the scheme had already been extended to 879 schools.⁷¹

In 1945/6 S.R Dent took over the office of chief in-

67 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Director of Education for 1948, (N.P 5/1950), p.30.

68 Prov. of Natal; Report of the Director of Education for 1943, (N.P 1/1947), p.30.

69 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Director of Education for 1944 (N.P 5/1947) p.42.

70 Ibid.

71 Prov. of natal, Report of the Director of Education for 1945, (N.P 6/1948) p.66.

spector. His term was to last, under provincial control, until 1953 when the Bantu Education Act was passed. Following Malcolm, Dent continued with the policies and schemes which owed their origins to Loram. He too was to aim at total state control over the administration of African schools in Natal. He continued with the state school program (see table 1 for the years 1945-53) and still waged war on the private schools. In 1948 Dent was responsible for the conversion of a further 43 private schools into state-aided schools.⁷² He continued with the Native Teachers' Journal and the "Native teachers library", as well as the inspection and supervision of state-aided schools. (By 1950 Dent's inspection staff comprised eleven inspectors, seven instructors and twenty-three African supervisors.⁷³) He adopted Malcolm's scheme of free schooling at primary level and also continued issuing free books and school meals. It was also Dent who was responsible for the doubling of the equipment grant.

During Dent's term of office two new teacher training colleges were opened - Inkamana Training College, near Vryheid and St. Bruno's Training College in Newcastle. Both were government aided-institutions, raising the total number of training colleges to eight in Natal. The only year in which there was a retrospective slide in the

72 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Director of Education for 1948, (N.P 5/1950), p.30.

73 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Director of Education for 1950, (N.P 6/1954), p.48.

growth of state intervention was in 1950. The education department found that from 1949 extra funds were not forthcoming from the central government and this was to severely curtail expansion. Consequently in 1950 a decision was made to discontinue the supply of free books for a year, and five schools had to be closed down due to lack of funds. Also some 290 applications for grants-in-aid from proprietors of private schools had to be rejected.

Dent also introduced a few schemes of his own in response to the department's cut in finance. One was the establishment of a government tribal school in 1950. This school was subsidized one pound for every pound the African community could generate. The government also rented any building that had been erected for the school.⁷⁴ The idea was to encourage African communities to become involved with the efforts to educate their children and bear some of the costs. These schools were established not by any mission society but by the initiative of the African parents or by the local "Native Tribal Authority".

In urban areas the demand for accommodation at African schools was in excess of places available. Consequently Dent introduced the "double session". At certain schools in Durban (Lamont and Fanin schools) teachers taught in two shifts, one in the morning the other in the afternoon, in an effort to cope with the huge number of children who

74 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Director of Education for 1950, (N.P 6/1954), p.48.

turned out each day. Dent did however institute a maximum teacher/pupil ratio in an attempt to control the number of children in each class. The ratio decided on was 1:60 for lower primary classes and 1:50 for higher primary. Yet even Dent himself had to admit that these ratios were in reality too much of a burden on the teacher.

Loram, Malcolm and Dent were all motivated by the desire to obtain control over African education in Natal. Their actions can be seen within a world context in which the trend in educational circles was for state controlled mass education. Compulsory primary education had been introduced in England in the 1870's⁷⁵ and white schooling in South Africa was already being directed by the Provincial Councils. The desire of the Natal officials to centralize control of "Native" education was an extension of this larger movement in world education. Their efforts are extraordinary simply because they perceived this need for centralization of authority and began to implement a system of control, decades before any of the other provinces. Provinces outside Natal left the education of the Africans mostly in the hands of the missionaries. This chapter has provided evidence to show that numerous strategies were implemented by the Natal Education Department to supersede the influence of the missionaries in the realm of African education. The next chapter will focus on the content of "Native" education as set out by the Natal Education de-

75 Anderson, Education in the Third World, p.9.

partment to demonstrate that while it may have been described as "progressive"⁷⁶; the real motivation behind the policy was to implement segregation. Loram visualized the creation, partly through education, of a dual society. While Malcolm and Dent did not sanction the creation of a parallel African society they too advocated an education system which embraced discriminatory and segregationist principles.

76 A. Leonie, "The development of Bantu Education in South Africa: 1652-1954", (unpublished Ph.D thesis, Montana State University, 1965), pp. 75-82.

CHAPTER THREE

A CURRICULUM FOR SEGREGATION : THE CONTENT OF "NATIVE" EDUCATION 1917-1953.

The previous chapter suggested that one of the reasons why the Natal Education Department increased its control over African education, was its desire to eliminate any teaching methods or syllabus content which did not follow the official education program. By 1953 the majority of African schools in Natal incorporated most aspects of the official ideology in both their administration and curricula. It is therefore important to investigate the basic assumptions which were implicit in the education department's "Native" education policy. What values did "Native" education aim to instil in African pupils, and who did this education system really benefit? In the last chapter reference was made to C.T Loram's philosophy of segregation, but at that stage no attempt was made to break down this philosophy into its constituent parts. Now, however, before we look into the content of the curriculum designed to promote this perspective a deeper analysis of this segregation theory is required.

In the second decade of this century, segregation was a policy advocated by a section of the liberal camp. In gen-

eral, liberals were opposed to a rival perspective - that of the conservatives or repressionists¹ - a larger group of white sentiment. To the repressionist Africans were inferior beings who would never rise out of their state of semi-barbarism. Africans were viewed as "troublesome children" but were to be tolerated as they constituted essential labour units in the capitalist economy. However they were expected to "disappear" from the white towns and cities outside of working hours. To this conservative group, whom C.T Loram believed represented the majority view among white South Africans, no education was deemed necessary for Africans. However if they had to be taught, then instruction should be along the lines of promoting "dignity in labour".²

White liberals of the first half of this century have been described as an optimistic minority who believed that a policy of gradualism would win over the white majority to toleration for the principle and practice of equal rights for all "civilized" people.³ The liberals, whose aims included the alleviation of black repression, were divided over what strategy to utilize to realize this aim. Two major ideas dominated liberal thinking in the first

1 Loram used this classification in his book Education p.17.

2 Loram, Education, p.18.

3 J Robertson. Liberalism in South Africa 1948-1963 (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971) pp.6-7.

quarter of this century. One view, which had the support of numerous missionaries and philanthropists, can be labeled "equalist".⁴ Based on a belief in a common humanity and a doctrine of brotherhood, they called for equal treatment for both blacks and whites. In education the equalists believed that the lessons that could be learned through schooling were of a universal nature and not the preserve of a specific race group. Any attempt at differentiation between the education of white and black was condemned as an attempt to keep Africans down. Perhaps the most influential advocate of this outlook was Edgar Brookes, principal of Adams College (1934-1945) and Natal's native representative in the Union Senate (1937-1954). In his book, Native Education in South Africa (1930), he called for a common purpose to shape both white and black education. In contrast to this approach, yet still falling into the liberal framework of the 1920's, were the segregationists.

Loram was a typical liberal segregationist. By minimizing contact between the races, Loram believed that both race groups would benefit by the prevention of "race deterioration" (miscegenation, he believed, would result in the abandonment of centuries of cultural development and ultimately result in a loss of identity and alienation).

4 Loram uses this term in, Education, p.20.

Loram also believed in the necessity of preserving "race integrity" (pride and faith in one's own culture); but most important he claimed that each race group should be allowed to develop as "naturally" as possible. For Loram it also made sense that until Africans had matured further in their development, whites should continue to rule in the capacity of trustee. Loram further justified this physical separation of the races claiming that Africans traditionally belonged in the countryside. Agriculture he saw as a natural way of life for Africans. And as he believed that South Africa's future development would depend heavily upon agriculture, Africans could best contribute to the nation's welfare through improved farming on their own small-holdings and on the farms of white farmers.⁵ Loram also believed that in order to reduce interference between the two race groups it was advisable that the majority of Africans remain in the countryside, as the cities he saw as a European preserve.

Loram viewed the influx of large numbers of Africans into the cities in the early years of this century in a serious light and called for steps to reverse this trend. The 1920 mine strike was an illustration of how African proletarianisation was taking place and how they could be

5 For a more detailed account of Loram's views read; Hunt Davis Jr. "Charles T. Loram and the American model" pp.112-116.

influenced by radical groups. Loram felt the African should form alternative political groupings linked to the rural reserves.⁶ He claimed that cities debased African culture, and that white dependence on and contact with Africans could result in cultural degradation for whites.⁷ It is of interest that Loram did not envisage removing Africans entirely from the employment of whites. He admitted that Africans, especially the uneducated, would for some time to come have to rely on Europeans to provide work. However this situation he viewed as being far from ideal.

Despite the physical separation of the two races Loram believed it was the duty of liberals to encourage African development. Education was a means to this end. An ideal African educational policy, for Loram, was based on the principal aim of providing elementary education to every African child. Emphasis rested on "character building", "habits of industry", the appreciation of the vernacular, health and hygiene, agriculture and other practical subjects.⁸

Loram's philosophy of education was shaped partly in 1914 when he travelled to the United States and visited a num-

6 Paul B Rich, White Power and the Liberal Conscience, (Johannesburg, Raven Press, 1984) pp. 17-18.

7 Hunt, "C.T Loram & American Model" in Kallaway, Apartheid and Education, p.113.

8 Ibid. p.114 (C.T Loram devised an educational policy for the Native Affairs Commission which

ber of black schools in the south. He was influenced by the writings and practices of two American educationists concerned with Negro schooling; Samuel Chapman Armstrong at Hampton and especially Booker T. Washington at the Tuskegee Institute. These two men felt that conventional western education was inappropriate for American Negroes as it tended to alienate the scholar from his or her traditional background. Armstrong and Washington called for the adaptation of education to the needs of Negroes, eg. education should be rural based with an agricultural curriculum because most Negroes would live on and by the soil. Washington also called for the teaching of elementary trade skills that could be used in a Negro community.⁹

In the mid 1920's the findings of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions also influenced Loram's thoughts on African education. These commissions were asked to survey "educational conditions and opportunities among the Negroes of Africa, with a special view of finding the type or types of education best adapted to meet the needs of the Natives"¹⁰ This commission under the leadership of Dr. Jesse Jones, who had worked in the research department at Hamp-

emphasized these aspects.)

9 Ibid. pp.112-113.

10 Phillip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana, (London, Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1965) p.156.

ton, acknowledged their reliance on principles developed by Armstrong and Washington. The commissions looked for ways to adapt industrial education to the needs of the African.¹¹ The Commission recommendations published in 1922 were;

1. The development of an educational system substantially based upon agricultural curriculums.
2. An agricultural curriculum was to be supplemented by a system of elementary trade schools to teach the simpler elements of trades required in Native villages.
3. Tribal language should be used in the lower elementary stages.
4. Other subjects like History and Geography were to be more closely related to the local environment.¹²

From 1914-1930 Loram used both Washington's ideas from America and those of the Phelps-Stokes Commissions in Africa and adapted them to the South African context. These ideas he married to the legacy that Shepstone had developed in the later half of the nineteenth century; the "native reserves". The British practice of demarcating "locations" and using traditional African leaders to administer them, was incorporated into Loram's educational blueprint for Africans.

Loram claimed that relevant education should be accom-

11 Kenneth James King, Pan Africanism and Education, (London, Oxford University Press, 1974)

12 Foster, Education and Social Change, pp.158-159.

modated within the structure of "Native" education:

For many years to come, separate courses of study, as well as separate schools for natives will be necessary. The courses will take account of the peculiar experiences of the natives, and the teaching in the early stages should be through the vernacular. From the beginning the education given should be meaningful to the native and to this end should lead up to the future occupations open to them.¹³

In light of this concern to provide "relevant" education for Africans, Loram incorporated two themes into his educational schemes. The first, adaptive education, was based on the belief that African schools should adapt to the everyday needs of the African community. Loram claimed, "What is really more important in African villages today - practical hygiene or the ability to read, elementary agriculture or geography, wise recreation or arithmetic?"¹⁴ In Loram's eyes previous education programs for blacks had been very much a "bookish affair" divorced from the pressures of real life. Loram's second theme, "education for life", concerned a more general overview of the aims of African education. He hoped that ultimately educated Africans would return to the reserves to earn their living through agriculture, utilizing their new skills and knowledge and encourage their neighbours to emulate these improved methods. On this point Loram's philosophy was

¹³ Loram, Education, p.225.

¹⁴ C.T Loram, "A National System of Native Education in South Africa" in SAJS, December 1929, p.7.

shared by other liberal educationists. B.M Narbeth of the Technical College in Durban wrote in the Native Teacher's Journal that

It would be absurd to expect the native people to come at one bound into the front rank of civilization. To be sound, progress must be steady and often very slow. To make sure progress, the whole race must gradually be brought along, and this can only be done by natives helping one another. The men and women who have been well trained should go back to their own people to train others, to set them an example, to show the way, and in fact, to be pioneers.¹⁵

The policies that were to emanate from the Natal Education Department during the years of Loram's office demonstrate the amount of influence Loram's ideas had on curriculum development. The new curriculum that was implemented in sections throughout the period 1918-1920 implicitly promoted a rural orientation, a consciousness of a traditional Zulu identity, and a practical rather than academic slant to the lessons taught. Malcolm (1921-1945) was to pursue an almost identical policy. Malcolm acted to consolidate Loram's basic philosophy and the structure built to promote it.

Loram continued to exert an influence in the sphere of African education throughout the 1920's despite the fact that he surrendered his position as chief inspector to

15 B.M Narbeth, Native Teacher's Journal, Vol.I no.2 (January 1920), p.39.

take up a post on the Union Native Affairs Commission. This permanent commission had been appointed by the government to advise the provincial councils on how to administer African education, amongst other matters. Loram was considered in the 1920's to be the "expert" on African education and his inclusion on the commission provided credibility for this operation.¹⁶ He was to remain on this commission until 1930. Besides being on the commission he was also at one stage Natal's acting-superintendent of education during the year 1928 and took up this post formally in 1931. Loram only ceased participating actively in the administration of African education late in 1931 when he left South Africa in order to accept a lecturing post at Yale University. Malcolm's policies during his years as chief inspector retained and extended the existing curriculum character as formulated earlier by Loram.

In what ways then did Loram influence curriculum development? Loram revised the curriculum for "Native Education" in a number of areas. In his 1918 report he wrote:

The syllabuses of instruction are undergoing revision and alterations and additions have already been made in the syllabus for training colleges, high schools and intermediate schools. The main principles governing the revisions have been :

a) The excision of subjects which could not be shewn to have a definite and practical bearing on the lives

16 Hunt Davis Jr., "The Administration and Financing" in Kallaway, Apartheid and Education, p.128.

of the natives. As a consequence, algebra (except the use of symbols in the solutions of problems), geometry (except mensuration), translation (except as an occasional aid to comprehension) have been dropped.

b) The inclusion of subjects which are of practical and demonstrable value eg. physiology and hygiene, nature study and an emphasis on the practical side of other school subjects.

c) An emphasis on agricultural and manual work.

d) The institution of vocational courses in the native high schools which while placing no obstacles in the way of pupils who desire an academic education in subjects (the only course hitherto available), gives an industrial and more practical bias to the work of the more advanced pupil.¹⁷

The curriculum designed by Loram and later extended by Malcolm and Dent attempted to entrench or at least promote a specific conception of the role of Africans in Natal society. Let us now analyse the subjects offered within the curriculum of Native Education between 1917 and 1953 in search of these values.

The promotion of Zulu as a medium of instruction was the spearhead of Loram's curriculum changes. The Zulu language was seen as being important in building up a separate Zulu identity. Loram was concerned that the removal of Zulu from the curriculum would result in the Zulu losing his native tongue, and consequently place "the last shreds of his nationality" in jeopardy of disappearing. Loram also

17 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1918.

believed that in the absence of Zulu instruction the assimilation of Africans into European circles was more likely to happen.¹⁸ Loram had a further argument:

...either with or without segregation some form of local self-government for natives seems bound to come. In the conduct of such self-government it will be necessary to have a common medium of communication and this for many years to come at least will be the native language.¹⁹

Loram further maintained that men and women who had completed a school course should in no way be distanced from their own people through an inadequate knowledge of their own language. The Zulu language would be the link between the old and new generations. It was also pedagogically sound for young children to be taught the rudimentary elements and skills necessary to excel in a school environment, in a language they were familiar with.

Loram did not call for the exclusion of English from the curriculum. However in response to criticism that English was not given sufficient attention in African schools, he wrote,

A knowledge of English is very desirable for the native, not only for its immediately practical value as a means of intercourse with the ruling race, but as a means whereby the native can acquire additional knowledge as a basis for future and more adequate reactions. But concurrently with this progress in linguistic ability must

¹⁸ Loram, Education, p.231.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.229.

proceed a knowledge of real things, so that the thought process may not be divorced from reality. Other matters such as the formation of good habits and ideals of conduct, are of paramount importance but these cannot receive adequate attention if English dominates the curriculum.²⁰

Throughout the 1920's the belief that the Zulu language was an essential component in the preservation of a Zulu identity was largely held throughout the department. This is illustrated by a remark made by inspector M. Prozesky in 1929: "If we want the natives to develop their national traits we must do this through the medium of the study of their own language."²¹ In later decades Zulu was maintained and extended by both Malcolm and Dent. In 1935 Zulu became the official medium of instruction up to standard 4.²² By the end of the 1930's various subject text books were also being printed in Zulu, such as standard six hygiene and health.²³ Dent was instrumental in organising a Zulu literature committee to assess Zulu language manuscripts for possible school readers. Dent had called for more Zulu readers to be written as he believed that it was only through the reading of their language that they would develop an interest in their own language.²⁴

20 Ibid., p.232.

21 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1929, (N.P 3/1930) p.66.

22 Prov. of Natal Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1935 (N.P 6/1937) p.68.

23 Prov. of Natal. Report of the Director of Education for 1939 (N.P 4/1941) pp.78-79.

In critical reflection a number of ulterior motives can be exposed which better explain this emphasis on Zulu. Loram openly claimed that African assimilation into white society should be gradual and occur only when Africans were truly "civilized". A contradiction therefore arises when we realize that Loram, amongst other liberal segregationists, supported the establishment of separate societies. The real aim of the segregationists was to exclude blacks from participating more fully in society, above the level of labourer, in ways that might constitute a threat to white control of the social, economic and political structures of that society. The English language was the means of communication in this white citadel and access was determined partly by proficient use of this language. However, the exclusion of English instruction from "Native" education was not a viable prospect as a limited knowledge was necessary if the black labour potential was to be harnessed efficiently. Consequently both languages were incorporated into the curriculum; but as most pupils in black schools only completed the first couple of years, the majority of pupils received their schooling in Zulu and received only limited instruction in English. Only those few pupils who continued their school-

ing would benefit from instruction in English. In the eyes of the segregationists these Africans would find employment not in the white economic community but in a separate African economy based in the reserves. In effect they were excluded from the semi-skilled ranks by the colour bar and other discriminatory legislation. The argument that an African society did require a common medium and identity if it were to succeed as an autonomous unit was in reality no more than a front for this exclusion principle. The function of Zulu as a school subject, (i.e to create a Zulu identity), was no more than a device to help maintain social divisions in the labour market.

Whether Loram and the other chief inspectors were aware of it or not, the emphasis on Zulu in the schools also played a small role in controlling worker opposition in industry. As already quoted above, Loram appreciated the value of English as a means of communication between the African and 'the ruling race', yet remained adamant that Zulu should be the medium of school instruction for most of the pupils. Negotiations between management and workers were often a problem as neither side could fully understand each other. Consequently, lacking a good command of English, many Africans failed to negotiate a better lifestyle.

The introduction of agriculture as a subject in the intermediate and high schools and gardening in the primary schools was an important part of Loram's educational program. He was appalled at the poor farming techniques of

Africans. Maurice S. Evans a leading "expert" on "native affairs" and a person who Loram respected claimed in 1915: "The native is surely the worst cultivator of the soil in the world - if there is a worse I do not know him. Taking into account their great ability, the Abantu are probably the worst agriculturists and the most wasteful occupiers of the world."²⁵ Loram realised that if a separate African society was to be rural based then this problem would have to be corrected. Justification put forward by the Natal Education Department for pushing agriculture as a subject ranged from the view that agriculture had an "ennobling and uplifting influence on man's character" to the belief that under a proper system of tillage the locations could carry a much larger population. The Department believed that if education was designed to prepare the children for a role after school, then one of the future needs of the African children in a segregated rural society was a knowledge of agriculture.²⁶ By 1921 agriculture and gardening were being taught in all government and government-aided African schools. A textbook had been published to help teachers, and the syllabus appears to have been quite detailed. Amongst the topics of agriculture covered in the syllabus for intermediate schools were: the origin of the soil, plant food, soil moisture, humus, tillage, crop

25 Maurice S. Evans in "Black and White in South Africa", quoted in N.T.J., Vol 1 no.1, p.28.

26 In N.T.J., Vol 3 no.1, October 1921, p.66.

rotation, fallowing and manuring. Attention was also drawn to agricultural pests such as weeds, stalk borer, cutworms and weevils; and time was spent studying the value of keeping birds, poultry, pigs and cattle.²⁷

However the enthusiasm of education officials for the inclusion of agriculture and gardening in the school curriculum was not initially shared by the teachers or the pupils in African schools. Those teachers who were still predominantly influenced by missionary values preferred academic to practical instruction. Pupils also tended to prefer an academic slant as many aspired to positions as teachers and clerks. Loram complained in his 1918 report that gardening had made little headway in African primary schools during the year: "the scarcity of tools, the want of fencing materials, the extraordinary seasons were partly responsible, but the chief reason is that the native teachers do not realize the importance of this work."²⁸ A measure of the importance attached by Loram to agriculture and gardening is illustrated by his assertion that if necessary his department would impose "pains and penalties" for the non-completion of the syllabus.²⁹

27 The syllabus is outlined in an article written by Father Bernard Huss published in N.T.J., vol 3 no.1, October 1921, p.12.

28 Prov. of Natal, The Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1918, (N.P 4/1919) p.48.

29 Ibid.

Under Malcolm there was no change in the curriculum's emphasis. The agricultural syllabus remained detailed. Topics covered in the 1920's included pruning of trees, the eradication of citrus pests as well as completing feasibility studies on the profitability of potato, amadumbe, mealie and mabele crops. Nature study, which had been incorporated into gardening and agriculture, was also consolidated during Malcolm's years in office. Inspector J.Howitt wrote in the N.T.J; "We believe that nature study should hold an important place in our curriculum. We feel that with any group of children by means of this subject it should be very easy to develop a sympathetic interest in their natural surroundings."³⁰ The nature study course included a nature calendar, elementary theory in gardening and the study of insect pests.³¹ It is of interest that teachers were advised to study only plants and animals which existed locally.³² By 1929 Malcolm's department made gardening a compulsory subject in primary schools. A further indication of the importance attached to agriculture was the establishment of a number of experimental agricultural colleges in 1926. These colleges were Reichenau in the Polela district, Driefontien in the Ladysmith area, and another named Etaluneni. Further evidence of the de-

30 N.T.J, vol.5 no.3 (April 1926), p.105.

31 This syllabus was for primary school level. See N.T.J, vol.8 no.2, (January 1929), p.67.

32 Ibid.

partment's ongoing commitment to agriculture was the introduction in 1941 of an experimental "School Farm" at Eshowe which was to provide post-primary education in practical agriculture. The school, according to the education department, was designed to provide the pupils with a "sound" training and make them "useful" members of their community.³³

Malcolm also expanded Loram's notion of 'adaptive education' through the establishment of agricultural shows. In Malcolm's view schools should become community centres influencing the entire community in the correct ways to live and farm. Malcolm in his 1928 report wrote that the school, "does not only rest upon the community as a burden, but is the expression of the life around about it and an index of the progress of the people."³⁴ The education department tried to encourage the community to become involved with the school. One way was through the organisation of agricultural shows. These shows consisted of exhibitions of farm produce and animal husbandry by African farmers, as well as craft work and produce grown in the school gardens. Malcolm claimed in 1927 that more and more of these shows were being staged throughout Natal and in the specific case of the Inanda show had become an annual

33 Education Department, "Important new venture in Education", N.T.J Vol 21 no.1 (Oct.1941) p.25

34 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1928, (N.P 4/1929), p.64.

event.³⁵ If in 1931 only ten shows were held throughout the province, by 1937 this figure had risen to 27 and continued to grow in subsequent years.³⁶ Teachers were also encouraged to offer instruction to the villagers themselves.

Dent's major contribution to agriculture was the combining of practical agriculture with elementary general science. What little science had existed previously had really been biology in which such emphasis had been predictably on rural-oriented topics such as the life cycle of agricultural pests and the genetic characteristics of both fowls and cattle.³⁷ The combination of the two subjects, it was asserted, was logical and in 1950 Dent remarked that the combination had resulted in intelligent lessons being given by most teachers.³⁸ In 1948 Dent had also decried the employment of caretakers at the larger schools claiming that "the pupils themselves are often deprived of practice in pruning of hedges and in the care of lawns and flower beds."³⁹ The employment of caretakers in his eyes

35 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1927, (N.P 4/1928), p.45.

36 Prov. of Natal. Report of the Director of Education for 1937 (N.P 5/1939) p.64.

37 These examples were used in an article on elementary general science in N.T.J., Vol 25 no.2 (Jan. 1946) p.30 and Vol 25 no.3 (April 1946) p.79

38 Prov. of Natal. Report of the Director of Education for 1950 (N.P 5/1954) p.52.

39 Prov. of Natal. Report of the Director of Education for 1948 (N.P 5/1950) p.32.

constituted a lack of sensitivity of the pupils needs!

One can identify a number of ulterior motives for the inclusion of agriculture and gardening into the curriculum. While Loram and other liberals might have been appalled at the poor standard of agriculture in the locations it was in many cases the nature of the locations themselves which constituted the barrier to good cultivation practices. Bundy has demonstrated that at the turn of the century the Natal peasantry had proved adept at responding to economic opportunities. This contrasts with M.S Evans' description of the Zulu as agriculturists quoted above. Bundy claimed a combination of various factors diminished the Africans ability to generate a surplus. Among the factors cited were legislative pressures which affected the Africans access to land, the eviction of tenant squatters, the lack of an infrastructure between the reserves and the markets and overcrowding in the reserves.⁴⁰ However in the eyes of the Natal Education officials and other segregationists the declining viability of the reserves was considered a consequence of the failure of traditional agriculture methods.

The segregationists feared the existence of a stabilized black urban population which could compete with white un-

40 Bundy, South African Peasantry, p.240

skilled and semi-skilled artisans and which would live in the urban areas. As the reserves were no longer restraining the flow of Africans to urban areas it was therefore believed, by segregationists, that African education should promote agriculture. It was hoped that more efficient agricultural methods would reverse the declining viability of the reserves and improve social conditions. In the long run this would arrest the trend towards urban migration and therefore preserve the rural orientation of the Zulu. This in turn would preserve the "natural" segregation of the races. These ideas were adopted by many within the teaching profession and is illustrated by a statement made by Simon Kambule, a teacher from Gardensville who wrote; "Many of the youths of our race are swept into the current, drifting to urban areas owing to the lack of appreciation and use of the environment."⁴¹ An article in the N.T.J in 1936 provided another example:

The Abantu are essentially a rural people. To have lasting effect, their education and development must be rooted in the soil. We are faced with the land question, congestion in the reserves and the problem of the rapid deterioration of the latter. I believe that well guided education in teaching the people how to work small and managable gardens would open their minds to what is possible, give them a better appreciation of land value, and thus develop in them a sense of responsibility for its preservation.⁴²

41 Simon Kambule, "The teachers appreciation and use of the environment" in N.T.J, vol.8 no.3, (April 1929), p.41.

42 H.M.S Makanya, "Scope and need for gardening

The rhetoric used by the department always implied that all these considerations were in the interests of the African child. In reality this subject aimed at preserving the privileged position of a different race and class.

Besides agriculture and Zulu other subjects were revised to fit within Loram's segregationist approach. In most cases subjects which had been traditionally academic in nature were rewritten in order to make them more "relevant" and practical. They were adapted where possible to relate to a rural community.

Early in the 1920's geometry and algebra were dropped from the mathematics syllabus as they were seen by the department as being abstract in content. Emphasis was placed on teaching pupils to adjust to the problems of space, weight, time, money, - problems "with which he is and will be surrounded."⁴³ Relevancy meant knowledge which could be used in concrete situations; this was preferable to the development of abstract cognitive thought processes such as logic and rationality. Loram's views remained popular among education department staff up until 1953. Inspector

education among the Bantu people" in N.T.J
Vol 16 no.1 (Oct.1936) p.19.

43 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1918, (N.P 4/1919) p.47.

A.C Spargo remarked,

There are few who would contend, in these days, that there is anything to be gained in a normal school course by intensive work in cube root, formal ratio, recurring decimals and other such, and it is not difficult to defend the demand that students should be confronted with those problems only that are practical - the problems they are likely to meet in their daily lives.⁴⁴

Another inspector visiting Inanda Seminary in 1927 questioned the teaching of mathematics to a junior certificate class. He claimed the "cultural and practical value" of this subject would be negligible to most girls as only a few would proceed to the matriculation standard.⁴⁵ He advised that only those girls who planned to proceed to matric take mathematics, while the rest should receive instruction in some practical subject.

Obviously the importance of mathematics was played down by the department. The abstract skills involved in mathematics generally had little application in a rural setting. Such skills were only appropriate in semi and highly skilled positions in industry and commerce. In the eyes of the segregationist the Africans' role in society was that of a practical labourer therefore instruction in maths was limited to only a small percentage of the enrolment. In-

44 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1929. (N.P 3/1930) p.57.

45 Inspector's report for the coastal districts on Inanda Seminary in N.T.J Vol 4, no.1, p.201.

adequate schooling in mathematics had the effect of limiting the success of Africans to compete for semi-skilled positions.

On the subjects of history and geography Loram applied the recommendation the 1922 Phelps-Stokes Commission. He claimed: "The memorizing of more or less relevant facts and the inaccuracy of the statements made by the teachers, must give place to a history and a geography which will interpret to the pupils the environment in which they are placed."⁴⁶ Thus Loram encouraged geography teachers to cover topics such as "aspect" (i.e the relative position of different slopes to the sun's rays). He contended that this knowledge would be beneficial in the planting of crops. Geography was included in the curriculum to help construct a notion in the pupils' minds that the Zulu peoples' proper place was in the country side and that it was "natural" that they should stay there.

The purpose of teaching History was to build up a Zulu identity among pupils, stressing the differences between the races and justifying a separation. Loram wrote in 1917 "If we are to develop a pride of race in the Natives, not only as a preventative for miscegenation with the whites but as a basis for the responsibilities of self govern-

46 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1918, (N.P 4/1919) p.47.

ment, we cannot afford to omit from our courses of study an account of the history and instruction of the races of South Africa."⁴⁷ Teachers were encouraged when teaching history to constantly draw upon the Zulu experience. For example when teaching about pre-conquest England, teachers were encouraged to draw similarities between the English political structure, (a large number of little principalities and kingdoms struggling for separate existence) and the similar position in Zulu history from the time of "Sezangakona".⁴⁸

Two other subjects were also designed to preserve Zulu culture and emphasize the differences between the races. Singing and dancing as forms of physical recreation, and African arts were viewed by the department as achieving this aim. The inclusion of "native" arts and crafts in the curriculum was stressed by the department; "The native also has traditions and it would be of great cultural value not only to him, but also to all of us, if he could be encouraged to develop and adapt the half forgotten arts and crafts of his forefathers."⁴⁹ Activities such as grass weaving, stone carving and clay modelling were performed at many of the schools throughout Natal. An industrial

⁴⁷ Loram, Education, p.99.

⁴⁸ N.T.J., Vol 4 no.1, p.203.

⁴⁹ H.J.E. Dumbrell, "A plea for handiwork in our native schools : part II" in N.T.J., Vol 2 no.2 (January 1921) p.46.

grant was established by the department to help schools obtain supplies although it was preferred that the pupil use natural materials which grew in the schools location in preference to "exotic goods". African arts and crafts also retained their importance in the curricula of the 1930's, 1940's and early 1950's. In 1943 the subject acquired compulsory status in primary schools. This was justified by the department on the grounds that it aided the preservation of Zulu culture for future generations.⁵⁰ Dent also sanctioned this subject, and although graphic art was included at a number of schools, grass weaving, horn carving and clay modelling remained the dominant activities.

Loram believed that on leaving school most pupils would end up doing manual work. H.J.E Dumbrell from Mapumulo Training College reflected his chief inspector's sentiments when he wrote in 1920:

...when one considers that their parents have depended for their livelihood on the work of their hands and that in all probability at least eighty percent of these pupils will earn their living by some manual activity, it seems to be strange that hand training as such should not find a place in the day school syllabus.⁵¹

50 S.W. Zulu, "Teaching of handicrafts" in N.T.J., vol 22 no.2 (Jan. 1943) p.50.

51 H.J.E. Dumbrell, "A plea for handiwork in our native schools - part I", N.T.J., Vol 2 no.1 (October 1920) p.2.

Loram's curriculum revision incorporated practical instruction in a number of industrial arts. Woodwork for boys and domestic science for girls were just two such courses that were offered at a few schools. Domestic science included needlework, cooking, laundry work, household management; it consisted of as much as ten hours of instruction per week in standards 5 and 6, and at three schools (St Hilda's, Indaleni and Inanda Seminary) the training of domestic servants was offered as a specific course.⁵² Domestic science in the eyes of the department had two functions.

On the one hand it provided girls with skills in cooking and laundry work which would allow them to set up their own "civilized" home, (cooking classes tended to emphasize the preparation of local foods i.e mealies.⁵³) On the other hand these courses were suitably detailed to provide them with the skills necessary to secure work opportunities. The department instructress, Miss Hopkinson, claimed that laundry work was important on account of its "hygiene value" as well as from a "commercial standpoint" as people would pay for washing and ironing done. Spargo believed that this subject would lay the foundations for a future African "nation". In 1941, on visiting Inanda Semi-

52 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1918, (N.P 4/1919) p.48.

53 N.T.J., Vol 5 no.1 (July 1925) p.57.

nary, he wrote that "if the Zulu people are ever to become a nation then it must be through the education of its women, wives and mothers"⁵⁴ Spargo was making a reference to the value of domestic science to the girls. In 1943 the chief inspector reported why his department believed domestic science was of benefit to African female pupils. Domestic science was evaluated in this way:

1. It has a civilizing influence upon the woman herself and makes it possible for her to bridge the gap between her own background and that of the European standard of living.
2. It engenders in the women a love of home making and the ability to conduct a home with economy and a maximum of hospitality from the slender resources at her command.
3. It enables the women to make the most of poor housing and large family responsibilities and thus to provide an example and incentive to her less fortunate nieghbours who have not had the advantages of such training
4. It helps to raise the general standard of African life.⁵⁵

During Dent's term of office the department was aware of the demand by industry for more semi-skilled labourers. In his 1951 report Dent mentioned that industry and commerce were calling out for more secondary education for Africans.⁵⁶ The department did offer a number of "industrial" subjects to a limited number of students. But in fact by

54 School records of Inanda Seminary (Microfilm)
AD 1711mf: Inanda Seminary. (Location: CPSA library Un.Wits)

55 Prov. of Natal. Report of the Director of Education for 1943 (N.P 1/1947) p.28.

56 Prov. of Natal. Report of the Director of Education for 1951 (N.P 6/1955) p.102

1951 only eleven such schools existed in Natal.⁵⁷ These schools between them offered courses in motor mechanics, carpentry, building, tailoring, weaving, leatherwork, domestic science, pre-nursing and blacksmithing. The minimum qualification was standard 4 and the course lasted three years for boys and two years for girls. The high entrance qualification, along with problems over the availability of subsequent employment due to industrial colour bars, kept the enrolment low. In 1952 only 0.3% of the total African school enrolment received instruction at Natal's African technical schools.⁵⁸ It can be argued that the chief inspectors did not wish to produce a situation where Africans could compete with whites for jobs. While industrial instruction was offered at only a few schools in Natal, agriculture had become a compulsory subject. However in the case of domestic maids, Africans were not likely to compete with any other class for these positions and hence instruction in domestic science was quite commonplace at girls schools.

One further category of lessons existed within the department's curriculum; those with a "civilizing" influence. These subjects included, "physiology and hygiene" and "moral and civic instruction". By 1920 all classes above

57 Ibid. p.86

58 Prov. of Natal. Report of the Director of Education for 1952 (N.P 6/1956) p.41.

standard two were receiving some form of instruction in hygiene. Personal cleanliness became a point of contention during the 1918 Spanish influenza epidemic which hit Natal schools and in which a number of pupils died.⁵⁹ Hygiene became synonymous with civilization in the eyes of many education department officials especially as traditionally Africans were equated with filth or dirt.

The education department also wanted to shape the morals of pupils. The N.T.J in 1920 outlined in full the syllabus for moral and civic instruction (see appendix A). The syllabus was liberal in character - liberal in the sense that it attempted to shape morals to suit a capitalist ethic with its emphasis on private property, individual rights and a necessary class division. Standard two pupils were taught to respect the property of others, to restore lost property, to protect property at home, school and other public places. Standard three pupils were schooled in the virtues of unhesitating obedience to both parents and teachers, and respect for rules and regulations. The standard five classes were taught the dignity of labour.⁶⁰ This syllabus was designed for children from standard one to standard seven. A course in morals (still greatly in-

59 Prov. of Natal. Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1918, (N.P 4/1919) p.48

60 Prov. of Natal, Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1918, (N.P 4/1919) p.48

fluenced by liberal values) was also continued into the 30's, 40's and early 50's although it experienced a number of name changes. "Character, citizenship and courtesy", one such course in the early 1950's, was aimed at bringing up a "sober minded" African generation.⁶¹

There is evidence that in the 1940's and 1950's Malcolm and Dent swayed from an exclusive segregationist position and adopted a compromise stance somewhere between segregation and integration. Where they were to finally differ from Loram's segregationist beliefs was over the notion of dual or separate societies. Increasingly as the years progressed the department acknowledged the influence of European culture on African development. Dent wrote in the N.T.J.:

Any education that pretends to be effective must keep in touch with the best elements in Native sentiment and custom and with traditional native arts, occupations and handicrafts; in fact must relate itself to such informal tribal education that exists. While this remains true in theory it must still be largely qualified. The presence of the white man in this country, with his economic and political dominance over the native is rapidly undermining much that was worthy in the traditional life of the native, quite apart from any educational policy...⁶²

However while Dent implied that it was impossible to create a parallel African society free of white influence

61 Prov. of Natal. Report of the Director of Education for 1951 (N.P 6/1955) p.98.

62 N.T.J., Vol 11 No.2 (Jan 1932) p.90

he did not advocate the assimilation of the races. While strict segregation was no longer advocated neither was full integration. Dent went on to say,

A good education at best is a sound preparation for a good life, and, as regards the native, it should be a preparation for a life amongst his own people. Hence the aim should not be superimposing of a European mode of life upon the native but rather the improvement and elevation of the Natives' own standards and customs.⁶³

What is reflected in this slight change in education department policy is the shift in liberal circles away from the segregationist argument. As South Africa experienced economic growth, new labour needs, the emergence of monopoly capitalism, and the resultant urban crisis, so too did liberal strategies develop and change. This change in liberal argument was to be partially adopted by the department. Consequently, as the years went by the belief in an ideal segregation of the races was expressed somewhat less emphatically in official reports. However it is important to realize that while "Native" education was to undergo various adjustments the essential exploitive principles remained. The themes of "education for life" and "adaptive education" were never abandoned. Malcolm and Dent also continued to promote the belief in the Zulu's "natural" rural orientation, the need for a racial identity and the importance of a practical, rather than

63 Ibid. p.91.

academic, curriculum: principles designed to reproduce a subordinate class.

Gramsci saw the ideological function of education in the maintenance of the social relations of production in a particular society. How was the curriculum of "Native" education designed to secure the acquiescence of the subordinate group to the way in which Natal society was structured? It was hoped that the continued emphasis on the idea that the Africans' future lay in the countryside would become internalized as the truth. Also the significance laid on their "natural" rural orientation and the fostering of a tribal identity, aimed to prevent full assimilation. The lack of training in industrial skills proved to be another factor in limiting African social mobility. "Native" education implicitly supported the reserve system and attempted to create, in the people who were supposed to live there, a similarly favourable attitude. The consequence of developing different education systems for different race groups resulted in the class structure perpetuating earlier racial divisions. "Native" education also reproduced these divisions. It was an education system designed to reproduce a class of unskilled labourers and petty farmers drawn exclusively from the black race group.

The ideological function of "Native" education also had the secondary objective of reducing any consciousness of oppression amongst Africans. It was hoped that it would therefore limit the volume of protest aimed at the authorities. A comment made in the N.T.J illustrates this aspect of "Native" education's role:

What is the teachers duty here? It is the bringing up of a sober minded African generation. It is our duty to bring up a new generation that will believe more in "duty" and self help, than in ventilating grievances year in and year out.⁶⁴

The next chapter is devoted to an investigation of African opposition to "Native" education. To what extent was "Native" education successful in molding the values and beliefs of the Zulu?

64 N.T.J, Vol 26 no.3 (April 1947) p.118.

CHAPTER FOUR

AFRICAN OPPOSITION TO "NATIVE" EDUCATION

The previous two chapters have focused exclusively on the Natal Education Department. This department's aims and objectives and its methods and strategies have been outlined in some detail. However it would be naive to assume that this official policy determined the true character, content and attitudes of black education in Natal. While financial subsidies did eroded the autonomy of the missionaries to conduct schools as they pleased, they also did not adhere totally to the official system either. What is more, parents often interpreted the hidden agenda correctly and criticized the education system accordingly. Gramsci has pointed out that while the state might use schools to disseminate official ideology in an attempt to attain the acquiescence of the subordinate classes, the state's "hegemony" will constantly be challenged by counter-ideologies. It should come as no surprise that missionaries, African parents and scholars themselves began to challenge the nature of "Native" education, especially as more and more Africans began attending schools during the course of the twentieth century. It is the purpose of this chapter to identify the grievences expressed by Afri-

can parents, political organizations, community groups, missionaries and students against "Native" education.

Parallel to the growing provincial control over African education between 1918-1953, was the increasing participation of Africans in the formal education process. In fact the demand for education was such that the education department was often in a position where it could not provide sufficient facilities. Reports of this rising demand for school places were common throughout the chief inspectors' annual reports. The following contribution written by one of Malcolm's African supervisor's for 1931 is typical.

That the natives are taking a real interest in education is evidenced by - a) The rush of herd boys and some heathen girls of over twenty years of age, to the night schools. b) Parents continuing to send their children to school even during the depression, when the majority of children came to school without having taken any meal or having had very little to eat. c) Their readiness to contribute their little share towards the maintenance of the school building.¹

The table below provides some statistics which illustrate the growth of school enrolment as the department attempted to keep pace with demand:

1 Prov. of Natal. Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1931 (N.P 7/1932) pp.46-47.

TABLE 2²

YEAR	GROSS ENROLMENT OF AFRICAN PUPILS AT GOVT. SCHOOLS	GROSS ENROLMENT OF AFRICAN PUPILS IN GOVT.-AIDED SCHOOLS
1915	---	25 905
1920	3 432	29 827
1925	6 180	33 097
1930	9 257	52 125
1937	14 882	71 941
1940	21 300	61 921
1945	37 689	83 034
1950	48 597	98 668
1952	55 161	112 176

Although the table fails to reflect the figures of pupils at private schools, for which official figures were unavailable, it does clearly show a distinct trend towards the increasing enrolment of African children. As more and more African children came into contact with state education so criticism of the system also became more prevalent. After all, as supervisor F.H Khumalo was to point out in 1930, "The average native of the present day is deeply concerned with the education of the coming generation and he desires that it shall be the best and most beneficial for him."³

The one criticism which was to continually plague the education department throughout the period, was the lack of proper facilities and the resultant overcrowding of schools. Despite the growth of the state school system there were insufficient schools to cater for those African

2 Table compiled from figures provided in the Natal Education Departments annual records for the years 1915-1952. The figures before 1937 were those calculated by the Superintendent while those for 1937 and after have been taken from the chief inspectors own reports.

3 Prov. of Natal. Report of the Superintendent of Education for 1930 (N.P 4/1931).

children who wanted a formal education. Numerous institutions petitioned the province for more African schools. In 1937 the Natives' Representative Council, at the very first session, passed a motion urging the government to provide more educational facilities especially in urban areas.⁴ Earlier in 1935, A.W.G. Champion, a leader of the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, in evidence before the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education, also called for both more African schools and more books.⁵ The A.N.C, at its 1946 annual congress, also urged the government to upgrade and improve facilities for African education. It called for the establishment of vocational and technical schools for African youths as well as the introduction of free and compulsory education for every African child up to standard six.⁶ Other bodies such as the Native Education Advisory Board also made numerous representations to the Natal Education Department about inadequate facilities.⁷ Some organizations, although not directly involved with African education, were sympathetic and also sent memoranda to the education department. For example the Durban and District branch of the Communist Party in 1948 passed a resolution which drew attention to the Provincial council's "criminal neglect of non-European education and the resultant acute shortage of school accommodation". They demanded that immediate steps be taken to meet this serious situation.⁸ The National Council of

4 Daily News, 7 December 1937 "Native demand for education facilities."

5 Newspaper clipping in Killie Cambell's press book No.9 "Bantu Education" p.1, entitled "Native Education Committee: 2 more witnesses."

6 Inkundla ya Bantu vol 8 no.14 (Feb.1946) p.1.

7 See "Memorandum on finance of Native Education submitted by the Natal Advisory Board on Native Education in 1932", SAIRR Ref.B70.1.3 (C.P.S.A library, Un.Wits).

8 Inkundla ya Bantu vol.9, no.184 (3 March 1948) p.4. "Communists advise Africans."

Women also passed a resolution calling for improved facilities for African education.⁹

As a consequence of this shortage of facilities those schools that did exist were often overcrowded as head teachers tried to cater for as many children as possible. This was especially so in urban areas where the department was loath to establish too many African schools. The Gardiner Memorial School at Mayville in Durban was a typical example of an urban African school. In July 1936 the Natal Mercury reported, "The scholars at the school are particularly keen. The school has been filled to capacity and there had always been native children hanging over the fence waiting for a place to fall vacant so they could claim it."¹⁰ In the late 1940's it was not unknown to have over sixty pupils under the tutelage of only one teacher.¹¹ In the late forties and early fifties, double sessions were instituted at a number of Durban schools; more established institutions were forced annually to turn away eager children who wished to enrol. Ohlange Institute, for example, was forced to turn away some 200 applicants in 1952.¹²

Other criticisms which were often voiced included the poor salaries of teachers, the non-existence of teachers' pensions and the lack of teachers' accommodation. One African newspaper even called on African teachers to consider

9 See, Education Manifesto of the Durban Branch of the National Council of Women 1936, SAIRR Ref.B80.2.3 (C.P.S.A library Un.Wits)

10 Natal Mercury, 25.7.1936, "No school to go to: plight of 100 Durban native children."

11 In 1952 Chief Inspector S.R Dent imposed a maximum ratio of 1:60 in lower primary schools. see Prov. of Natal Report of the Director of education for 1952, (N.P 6/1956) p.37.

12 Natal Mercury, 3.10.1952 "Cane growing may finance college."

strike action against the Natal Education Department in order to rectify this situation and pointed out that this action had been taken before by both white and Indian teachers. The author was highly contemptuous of the Natal Bantu Teachers Union which was "still doing the respectful thing and sending letters and prayers to the education authorities".¹³ However no co-ordinated African teachers' strike did take place in Natal.

The African community complained that existing schools often lacked playgrounds and water supplies, and that buildings were generally hot and badly ventilated. There were also grievances about the high cost of books and writing implements. Some schools were better than others and the department did attempt to impose building standards on all schools under its influence. Beside grievances over school facilities, an increasing number of African parents began to question the inclusion of a number of subjects in the curriculum. They began to challenge the content of "Native" education.

One area where a large number of parents were critical of official policy was Zulu. Many parents were not willing to substitute Zulu for English as the medium of instruction. Mr Donald Mtimkulu, at that time a teacher at Adams College, identified this preference for English by the African parent as a consequence of "economic pressure", the result of South Africa's rapid development into an industrial nation. Africans had found, when seeking employment, a knowledge of English, no matter how poor, was a strong recommendation. Mtimkulu claimed that English "is the open sesame to the halls of success - success being measured by him (the African) in terms of pounds, shillings and

¹³ Ikundla ya Bantu, vol.7 no.89 (7 Nov 1944), "Example for Teachers" p.3.

pence."¹⁴

In 1940 Malcolm also mentioned that some parents were opposed to Zulu being made the medium of instruction at the primary level:

There has recently become vocal a protest which has always been incipient, against the extended use of the vernacular as a medium of instruction. This opposition has its roots in the mistaken conviction by the majority of the natives that the use of the vernacular as a medium is designed to retard the general progress of the native people, to prevent them from gaining too good a knowledge of English. They feel that the vernacular has no economic value, while a knowledge of English is required for so many of their occupations.¹⁵

This dissatisfaction with the department's policy of using Zulu as the medium of instruction was to remain unresolved right up into the early 1950's. Chief inspector Dent also wrote on the parents' opposition to Zulu instruction:

Unfortunately many parents and pupils, realizing that a knowledge of Zulu has little if any economic value to the native, consider that Zulu can be taught at home, so that more school time may be devoted to English and Afrikaans for the sake of their economic and educational value.¹⁶

In the early 1940's, in the Durban area, African parents began to organize themselves so as to exert more pressure on the authorities. The Bantu Parents Association was launched in June 1939, and by 1947 over 100 school committees throughout Natal were affiliated to this associa-

14 D.Mtimkulu, "The medium of instruction", in N.T.J vol.20, No.1 p.11.

15 Prov. of Natal. Report of the Director of Education for 1940 (N.P 5/1944) p.32.

16 Prov. of Natal. Report of the Director of Education for 1951 (N.P 6/1955) p.98.

tion.¹⁷ Among the resolutions adopted by this association in its first year of existence was one which directly concerned the use of Zulu as a medium of instruction in African primary schools:

This conference condemns the new method of instruction of Native children, that is the medium of instruction to be Zulu from standard one to standard four. The conference holds that the official languages of the Union must for the purposes of native education be recognized as the medium of instruction in our native schools and lessons must be in either or both official languages.¹⁸

Despite constant reassurance from the education department that it was pedagogically sound as well as culturally important to use Zulu as the medium of instruction, a large and vocal section of the African population deplored its use. In the eyes of many parents the most important aspect of education was the economic benefits which it yielded. However, their protests were in vain, as the medium of Zulu continued to predominate in the lower primary schools and was even extended into all the higher primary schools prior to 1953. The department stood firm in its conviction that Zulu was an important subject for the future "development" of the Zulu.

Another subject which did not live up to the expectations of many the parents was African arts and crafts. The reasons again were economic in nature. One parent is recorded as saying, "What good is it to talk about educating our children in the schools when all the time is taken up by fiddling with clay and making our children do what our forefathers did in their uncivilized life - really it is setting the race back."¹⁹ Another parent claimed, "Who of

¹⁷ Inkundla ya Bantu, vol.19 no.141 (7 April 1947) p.5.

¹⁸ Territorial Magazine: Ipepa Ndaba Lezi Funda vol.2,no.18 (Sept. 1939).

you have ever seen Europeans or heard of them making wooden spoons in their schools."²⁰ This was a criticism which surfaced many times before 1953, and parents were to remain unconvinced by department reassurances. Malcolm wrote of the topic in 1943:

There appears to be opposition to this type of work amongst the parents of the children attending native schools. They are inclined to look at the subject from a utilitarian point of view rather than from its educational implications. They cannot be expected to know that in European schools the need for this type of instruction is felt so much that an artificial situation is created in order that it may be taught and such exotic materials as plasticine and raffia and cardboard are used in order to recover some of the lost arts of manipulative skills. In the native schools on the other hand we are fortunate in finding Arts and crafts still in existence and moreover, the natural material for their manufacture is at our doors.²¹

Once again all protest was ignored as the department stuck to its original plan and continued with arts and crafts right up until 1953.

Were African parents aware of "Native" education's oppressive nature? From the early 1940's a number of parents did begin to realize the dangers inherent in this system and criticized not just the inclusion of certain questionable subjects in the curriculum but rather the entire structure of "Native" education. The number of parents who were aware of "Native" education's basic assumptions is impossible to calculate. However we do know the opinions of this sector of the African population as they expressed their views through a particular newspaper, the Inkundla

19 A.B Zunga in N.T.J., vol.9 no.4. (July 1930) p.214.

20 Ibid.

21 Prov. of Natal. Report of the Director of Education for 1943 (N.P 1/1947) p.24.

ya Bantu. This newspaper was printed at Verulam outside Durban and became favoured by the black nationalist intelligentsia. Most of its articles on education considered the manner in which African education perpetuated white supremacy. Such a view came through in an article written in 1943:

This native education seems today to mean a special type of inferior education which is meant to lull the native into the old sleep that has weighed him down for decades already, and to keep the native lingering in the vestibule of knowledge, wallowing in the quagmire of slush and ooze of ignorance...We must do away with this dummy sort of education. It is as cruel or as generous as offering a stone to an unsuspecting child who craves bread.²²

An editorial in Inkundla in December 1944 attacked the department's policy of forcing Africans "to develop along their own lines":

Native education aims not at preparing the African child for a useful, responsible citizenship but at making him a useful and easily manageable instrument in the service of the white man. We are never impressed by the hollow argument about the different standards of culture in the South African population. The differences are deliberately perpetuated with the sole purpose of keeping the African at the bottom.²³

Another contributor to the newspaper pointed out how the curriculum was designed to promote European superiority in the minds of African school children. The author criticized the tone in which African heroes were referred to. He wrote,

The History taught in our schools drill into the

22 Inkundla ya Bantu, vol.6 no. 68 (30 Nov. 1943) p.5.

23 Ibid., vol.7. no.92. (30 December 1944) p.2.

minds of the African child the idea that in all our fights with the white man, the white man was in the right and that our forefathers, who fought for their independence and their freedom were the villains in the story...Our history in our schools, seeks to perpetuate this doctrine of white supremacy and it is time we raised our voices in protest against it...We shall all return to focus organized attention on the type of book our child is forced to read at school and which depicts his forefathers as a collection of both cattle thieves and bloody barbarians and not as patriots who fought for every inch of their land to the end.²⁴

The author further urged that African parents, journalists, authors and teachers should assess school texts to determine if these books prepared African children for "full citizenship" or for "permanent inferiority".²⁵ One of Inkundla's columnists, Kanyisa, insisted African parents became involved. He wrote, "The struggle for better education and higher salaries is a national struggle. It must be carried on to final success."²⁶ In 1944, Mr Ngwenya, the secretary of the Bantu Parents Association, echoed this call in an address to parents in Ladysmith: "The African does not want native education and he is determined to wage a ruthless struggle to give to his child that education which will make him the equal to any other South African, white or yellow."²⁷

To what extent were the Bantu Parents Association and Inkundla successful in pressuring education officials to change the shape of "Native" education? The Bantu Parents Association did manage to gain a seat on the Native Educa-

24 Ibid., vol.9. no.118. (May 1946) p.2. "What our children read?"

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid., vol.7. no.80. (17 June 1944) p.3.

27 Ibid., vol.6. no. 70. (June 1944) p.3. "South African political commentary: Natal Bantu Parents".

tion Advisory Board. Inkundla believed that one of the reasons why the Native Education Committee (1944-1946) was established by the government was directly attributable to pressure from African parents in Natal. It claimed that they had publicly challenged the principle on which African education was based - the principle of African "development" along separate and inferior lines.²⁸ Yet their influence on the actual shape of "Native" education was minimal, as the curriculum was to change only slightly from Loram's original design throughout the 1940's. However another section of the African population that was more "successful" in worrying the education authorities both at provincial and nation levels was the students.

Throughout the mid 1940's and early 1950's South Africa experienced a wave of black student unrest. In Natal, Ohlange Institute and especially Adams College, among numerous other schools, were to witness student riots and protests. On the surface these protests seem to have been triggered by material grievances, but a number of underlying social factors also need to be considered. It is necessary to consider the pressures which the African population were experiencing outside of the educational sphere and what they perceived the education system could offer them in terms of a solution. Between 1921 and 1946 the urban black population was to treble and by 1946 a ratio of 1:3 blacks lived in urban areas²⁹. This black urbanization resulted from the underdevelopment of the reserves and rural poverty as well as the rapid growth of secondary industry which, bypassed the mining sector in importance by the mid 1930's.³⁰ Increasingly urban Afri-

28 Ibid., vol.7. no.80 (17 June 1944) p.3. "Educational Commissions, a tactful retreat."

29 Pam Christie & Colin Collins, "Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology and Labour Reproduction" in Kallaway, Apartheid and Education, p.169.

cans became incorporated into capitalist social relations and abandoned most tribal structures and norms. By the late 1940's and early 1950's both African parents and pupils were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with what they perceived as an education system which was out of step with their needs and aspirations. Social difficulties (unemployment, lack of housing etc.) which arose as a consequence of the urban crises brought home to Africans the inappropriateness of much of their education. Another factor that influenced this more critical mode of reflection was the influence of the Second World War. Inkundla summed up the contradiction that the war posed for South African blacks: "While African blood is being shed in Italy in defence of the four freedoms, South Africa continues to make laws for the blackman which not even the Nazi's could improve upon."³¹ Returning soldiers were especially strong African nationalist supporters and those few who returned to school after the war influenced their younger colleagues. It is therefore not surprising that students became critical of "Native" education at this time.

In August 1942, Ohlange Institute experienced stone throwing and "general rowdiness", and numerous students absented themselves from classes. Ultimately it took police action to restore order, and approximately twenty-one students were arrested. The cause of the disturbances was initially attributed to student dissatisfaction over a reduction of the bread ration, and to complaints over hostel accommodation. St. Francis College in Mariannhill was also affected in May 1944. The junior certificate class refused to do the work prescribed by the teacher, and in April of the next year the matric boys left the school grounds in protest against the poor quality of

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., "Editorial opinion", 17 March 1945, p.2.

their meals. Fourteen students were refused readmittance in an attempt by the authorities to "root out" the ring leaders.

Adams College was also a centre of student unrest. Early in 1946 there was stone throwing at the school and a school store was broken into and food and cash stolen. These disturbances were attributed by the school authorities to dissatisfaction over food. The bread had not arrived and porridge had been substituted. As a result of an eight-week investigation eight scholars were expelled. A contributing factor, the investigators believed was the fact that a new principal had been appointed and fees had been recently increased. However in March 1947 the disturbances continued. The school library, two laboratories and a staff room were totally gutted by fire. One month later combustible material was found under two inside stairwells of the boys' dormitory, and an outside staircase was badly charred.³²

Adams was to experience further unrest in August 1950 when the student body absented itself from chapel and classes on the pretext that the food (meat and porridge) was of a low quality. According to the principal's report plans to destroy the food stored in the kitchen, the firing of the dining room, as well as plans to "take care" of the head prefect and head waiter (a student) were only diverted by the presence of the police on campus the night following

32 Information concerning student unrest at African schools mentioned in the text, plus other examples can be found in the report of the committee appointed to enquire into the disturbances at native educational institutions, appointed by the Union Advisory Board for Native Education. This report was never published but a draft of the final report can be found in the C.P.S.A library, Un.Wits ref.1760 Appendix C.

the boycotts.³³

Instances of student unrest were common throughout South Africa in the 1940's and early 1950's. The numerous committees of enquiry which were brought into being by school boards and the department usually concluded that "agitators" had been responsible. Specific individuals, such as ex-soldiers or pupils from outside Natal were identified as troublemakers. However one specific committee did identify a number of other factors. A committee to enquire into the disturbances at African educational institutions had been appointed by the Union Native Education Advisory Board in 1947. Its findings were generally not welcomed by the Union's education authorities. This committee had claimed that past explanations given for the disturbances, such as food, accommodation and discipline really concealed a deeper motivation. This committee identified such underlying causal factors as the "awakening of race consciousness", the attitude of the authorities and teaching staff to the pupils, the inclusion of manual work in the curriculum and as a form of punishment, failure to address student complaints, and most importantly the "changing situation". By "changing situation" the committee was referring to the change in lifestyle and environment that Africans were now experiencing as a result of a transition from a rural to an urban industrialized existence. The committee also pointed out that while local African communities deplored the strike tactic they sympathized with the students' grievances.³⁴ The committee

33 G.C Grant, "Principal's report of student unrest at Adams College 16.9.1950", a circular given to the General Purpose Committee of Adams College. Available in box A/4/63, American Board mission files, Natal Archives Depot.

34 Unpublished report, "Disturbances at Native Educational Institutions." C.P.S.A library, ref. AD1760.

was implying that black education was ignoring the new social needs that faced Africans in industrial society.

This report is of interest because it is the sole report of the 1940's and 1950's which did not rely on an agitator thesis. The committee was not afraid to lay part of the blame at the feet of the provincial education departments which it felt, did not construct educational policy to suit the needs of African children. This committee's report was never published, as education officials in other provinces found its conclusions impossible to swallow. The O.F.S provincial secretary, W.T.B Slater, claimed that while the information in the report was helpful the O.F.S Provincial Administration could not agree with its conclusions and it feared that the report in the hands of "agitators" could easily be put to malevolent use.³⁵ Slater also felt that insufficient emphasis was placed in the committee's recommendations on the need for discipline. As a result of similar misgivings by other provinces the report was shelved.

However the editorial opinion of Inkundla ya Bantu also identified a number of underlying causes of the student unrest and believed that "Native Education" was not catering for the needs of Africans in a changing society:

...but in our view, the problem does not start and end with food. The strikes indicate a new sensitiveness to treatment meted out to African students by those schools which have had trouble...thus the strikes indicate that time is long over due when students should have a voice

35 Correspondence between the O.F.S provincial secretary, W.T.B Slater, and the secretary of Union Education. 12.7.1948 (text in Afrikaans) available C.P.S.A library, Un.Wits AD1759 (Sept. 1948 file)

in the councils of the institutions of learning...Today an African student goes to college to train mind, soul and body for an existence in which economic and political factors are paramount and he rightly demands that his school should train him to stand his own in a competitive world...It would appear that not all the colleges appreciate this fact as witness the unwillingness of many to encourage the formation of student representative councils, or where these are formed not to entrust them with the requisite responsibility.³⁶

A growing number of pupils and parents began to call for an education system which took cognisance of the economic and social reality which Africans were faced with each day. It is perhaps no surprise that in 1946 the A.N.C had called on the government to establish vocational technical schools for the training of the African youth. There is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that a number of Africans were aware of the aims of "Native" education to perpetuate both racial divisions in society and to maintain white superiority.

It would be wrong to view African opinion in the 1940's and 1950's as being homogeneous. While some Africans began to criticize the educational system because of its inherent ideological functions, others were not so radical in their condemnation. John Dube, the principal and founder of Ohlange Institute, feared that the Bantu Parents Association would both alienate education officials in Natal as well as erode his own standing in educational circles and among African communities. He wrote in Ilanga lase Natal:

There is a healthy and perfectly natural tendency on the part of the bantu parent to want to have a greater say in the education of their

36 Inkundla ya Bantu, (31 May 1945), Editorial opinion. p.2.

children. Parents must however guard against enthusiasm more than reason, determining their policies...The bantu community would benefit greatly from consultation between our own leaders of educational thought and the leaders of the bantu parents...The bantu parents in Natal have undertaken a great responsibility and in order to make their work a success they must be willing to learn and even recast some of their attitudes to certain aspects of our education as more facts become known to them.³⁷

Dube was disturbed by the Bantu Parents Association's condemnation of Zulu as the medium of instruction; he complained that some of its positions were "inconsistent". Dube represented the older, more conservative element in African opinion and was alarmed at the seeming radicalism of both the Bantu Parents Association and the rival to his own newspaper, Inkundla ya Bantu.

However all sectors of the African population were unanimous in the opinion that "Native" education failed to pay cognisance of their true needs. Discontent over the education system was manifested in numerous ways such as student strikes and boycotts, deputations and petitions. Each strategy consistent with the groups' political outlook. It was partly due to this increasing dissatisfaction among Africans and the successive instances of physical protest that it was felt by the Nationalist government that some form of panacea was required to restore control. We must appreciate that African protest was not confined to the educational arena; it was becoming more general and widespread. The Eiselen Commission of 1949 and the Bantu Education Act of 1953 were designed partly to provide the Nationalist government with an ideological tool to control the rising militancy of the African population.

37 Ilange lase Natal, "Bantu Parents and Education", 13 June 1942.

While attendance at "Native" schools had grown tenfold between 1915 and 1953, the Natal Education Department failed to gain the acquiescence of Africans to the official ideology. Dissension existed between the department and numerous African parents and children as to the usefulness of the values that the school system disseminated. Some parents were hostile, others simply dissatisfied, few were totally content with the way "Native" education was set up. This dissension was an indication to officials in Pretoria that Natal's system of African education had begun to fail in its function as the shaper of African consciousness. It was time to redesign African education.

It is the purpose of the next chapter to introduce "Bantu" education and draw the similarities that do exist between it and Natal's "Native" education. Also the reasons why the state deemed it necessary for "Bantu" education to supersede the existing provincial systems will be outlined. It will also be necessary to assess the influence of developments within the economic, social and political spheres on the shape of the new education order. The continuity that exists between "Native" and "Bantu" education will then become apparent.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF "BANTU" EDUCATION : THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF APARTHEID EDUCATION 1948-1954.

The period on which we must now focus our attention is that which immediately preceded the implementation of "Bantu" education in 1954. Why was it deemed necessary to override provincial control and what was the response in Natal to this move? The argument over which was preferable, provincial or central responsibility for African education, was not new and numerous commissions had deliberated over this question. The reason why the responsibility for African schooling was handed over to the Native Affairs Department at this stage was the result of numerous interacting factors. G.C Grant, Headmaster of Adams College wrote,

Listen to these few sentences by the Minister of Native Affairs on the so-called defects of the present system and as you listen, I pray you discern the underlying motive: "They, that is the mission schools, are unsympathetic to the country's policy". Again: "The control of the provincial administration could bring no uniformity into the schools consistent with the policy of the country." Yet again: "The curriculum and educational practice by ignoring the segregation or apartheid policy was unable to prepare for service the Bantu community." You will notice Mr. Moderator that not one of these reasons for transfer is educational. They are

all political.¹

Grant's criticism demonstrated that more than just educational issues and the interests of the black school child were factors in the passing of the 1953 Bantu Education bill. A factor unidentified by Grant but of great importance was the needs of the changing South African economy. Let us investigate more fully these background influences which were to aid the establishment of "Bantu" education.

Gramsci emphasised the role of society's ideological structures in reproducing the social relations of production and labour power. However while schools are identified as principal institutions in this process, in South Africa during the 1930's and 1940's labour was being reproduced by other means outside the educational sphere. Christie and Collins have pointed out that migrant labour and the reserve system effectively kept many blacks from being fully integrated into the capitalist economy.² Also so small a fraction of the African population ever received a formal education that the ideological function of the school had only limited success in the reproduction of labour power. This would account why the state's funding of black education during this period was inadequate to develop a comprehensive state education system for blacks despite the desires of many education officials in Natal for just such a system. Also South Africa had developed a number of coercive or repressive methods to secure labour. The denial of political rights, reserves and pass laws, served to reproduce the relations of subordination and servitude thus fulfilling the task usually done by the

1 G.C Grant, The Liquidation of Adams College, (Ibadan, 1957), p.9.

2 Pam Christie & Colin Collins, "Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology and Labour Reproduction." in Kallaway, Apartheid and Education, p.165.

ideological institutions in other capitalist social formations.³ ✓

However by the late 1940's and early 1950's this segregation system was to face a general crises. The main reasons for this crises were firstly the underdevelopment of the reserves which produced rural unrest. Secondly, the development of white commercial agriculture and thirdly the enormous growth of the secondary industry after 1933. These factors resulted in black urbanization and the growth of an African proletariat.⁴ In the late forties fewer than 40% of Africans in South Africa actually lived in the reserves.⁵ With the increase in the number of blacks living in the urban areas came numerous new problems. Due to low exploited wages and unemployment, poverty amongst urban blacks was wide spread. The cities became the scene of labour unrest and the consequent growth in the labour union movement and in black nationalism. Black urbanisation in the 1940's meant that there arose a need to incorporate into the capitalist social relations people who no longer participated in tribal structures and forms of social control. The school was one option to facilitate this incorporation⁶.

The election victory in 1948 for the National Party was significant because it determined the shape and character of the devices designed to protect the interests of capital. The defeated United Party, also concerned with the protection of capital, had advocated a relaxation of the migrant labour system and allowing blacks to reside in the urban areas. Yet the United Party still affirmed its com-

3 Ibid. p.166.

4 Ibid. p.169.

5 This figure is used in Mbere, "Association between Bantu Education and Christian Nationalism.", p.148.

6 Christie & Collins, "Bantu Education", p.169.

mitment to pass laws and segregation.⁷ However where the National Party differed from the United Party was the extension of segregation ideology based on the belief of cultural differences and racial inferiority. The Nationalists endorsed the migrant labour system which allowed industrialists to remunerate the worker below the cost of his reproduction because his extended family remained behind in the reserve.⁸ The social and economic needs of the worker's family had to be satisfied from within these rural communities and not necessarily from the man's wage. The reserve system, in conjunction with the pass laws, could also control the movement of Africans to and within the cities. This feature was attractive to the Nationalists as informal settlements had begun to become more commonplace, unemployment increased and trade unions became more powerful. Consequently the reserves needed to be bolstered and strengthened in order to reverse the rural-urban migration of blacks.

Adopting this segregationist stance the National Party implemented a specific socio-political program - "Apartheid", designed to separate the whites and blacks both politically, economically and geographically. Education, because of its ideological function, became an integral part in the promotion and development of the Apartheid program. The Bantu Education Act of 1953, shaped African education, throughout South Africa, to bolster the reserve system and aid in the reproduction of labour power. ✓

A document which was to have a great influence on the shaping of the Bantu Education Act was the Federasie van

7 Ibid. p.170.

8 Harold Wolpe, "Capitalism and cheap labour-power in South Africa: from segregation to apartheid", in Economy and Society, vol.1 (1972) pp.425-456.

Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge's Education Manifesto printed in 1948. This document, which outlined an education system known as Christian National Education, envisaged a separate education system for the races and used a similar argument to the liberal segregationists of the early 1920's to justify it: the need to preserve racial integrity and purity. This manifesto envisaged a specific type of segregated education for the African population.

The task of white South Africa with respect to the native is to Christianize him and to help him culturally and this vocation and task has found its immediate application in the principles of trusteeship, no placing of the native on the level of the white, and in segregation.⁹

In 1949, through the initiative of the National Party, the Commission on Native Education (Eiselen Commission) was formed to investigate African education and was yet another example of the National party's desire to segregate the different races. The terms of reference under which this commission was established had a direct bearing on the conclusions that were drawn. The commission was asked to provide a blueprint for Africans as "an independent race" and to take into consideration "their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under ever changing social conditions."¹⁰

The Eiselen commission's report, published in 1951, was highly critical of the existing educational systems administered by the provincial councils and the missionaries. It claimed that African education, "lacked any sense of direction because it was not formulated under any overall plan for the cultural development of the Africans." Hence the commission proposed a set of guiding principles for

9 Education Maifesto of the FAK quoted in I.A Robertson, "Education in South Africa", p.58.

10 See Rose and Turner, Documents, p.244.

correcting this situation. Amongst these principles it recommended a transfer of responsibility from the provinces to the central government, the development of a curriculum which was an integral part of a "Bantu Development" policy, that more attention be paid to "mass education", the use of Africans as far as possible in all personnel positions, and mother tongue instructions for Africans. The encouragement of community participation and the establishment of partly elected school committees and boards were also sanctioned, although it can be argued that these were devices to legitimize the system and in reality had little or no power in actually influencing the shape of local black education.¹¹

The Bantu Education Act was shaped on the findings of the Eiselen commission. Rose and Turner state that there is little doubt that many of the recommendations in the report and the reasoning behind them fitted into the Nationalist government's concept of separate development.¹² The Bantu Education Act provided the Minister of Native Affairs with very wide powers and gave him the prerogative to open and close all African schools. The authority to conduct African schools became centralized under the Department of Native affairs. The missionaries were slowly squeezed out with drastic cuts in financial aid and the provincial education departments had to surrender their control to the central government. The Department of Native Affairs restructured African education in order to create a "practical" education with a rural orientation based on "unique" African traditions. One of the most important functions of "Bantu" education was to win the acquiescence of the African population to a rural way of

11 T. Lodge, Black politics in South Africa since 1945, (Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1983), p.116.

12 Rose and Turner, Documents, p.258.

life. The school curriculum was designed to promote values which would justify the existence of homelands and a rural orientation for Africans in an attempt to keep the reserve system viable and continue to function in the reproduction of labour power. The Bantu Education Act was to operate in conjunction with the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 which provided for the establishment of homelands, regional authorities and territorial authorities. The Bantu Authorities Act encouraged the black rural population to administer and take charge of their own affairs. The education act was to ultimately provide the literate clerks and administrators as well as the desire amongst the black population to uphold a rural existence. →

What was the reaction of the Provincial Government and the churches in Natal to the Nationalist government's move to centralize African education? The Natal provincial government with its extensive state schooling system reacted differently to the other provinces when the Bantu Education bill of 1953 was debated. Previously commissions on African education in Natal had sanctioned the transfer of responsibility to the central government. For example the Broome Commission of 1937 had concluded that the Union government should take over the administration and control of "Native" education from the Natal Provincial Council.¹³ This recommendation proved unpopular amongst Natal's educators and was shelved in 1939 when the war intervened. The Eiselen Commission's similar recommendation in 1951 also received much opposition from Natal's educators and provincial councillors. It was not surprising then that when the Bantu Education Bill of 1953 was being discussed in parliament it received a lot of criticism from Natal

13 Prov. of Natal, (NP 60/1938), Report of the Education Commission 1937. para.557. p.100.

circles. The Minister of Native Affairs, Verwoerd, claimed that pressure from Natal amounted to strong opposition to his bill.¹⁴ However while Natal educationists, such as G.C. Grant, opposed the bill because they believed it would implement an inferior education system for Africans¹⁵, the provincial councillors and Natal M.P.s were motivated by another consideration.

What concerned these people was the reduction in power that the provincial councils faced if African education was transferred. The removal of "Native" education was seen as a direct attack on the limited autonomy of the provincial councils. Natalians were fearful of being consumed by the centralisation policy of the Afrikaner controlled central government. Just as the Afrikaner nationalists wanted to protect their culture and identity so too did the English-speaking whites of Natal. It was feared that the loss of control of Natal's "Native" education would precede the loss of control of white English education. Dr. Brookes wrote in the Natal Witness, "The same thing could be done in a different sphere, education of the English speaking people of Natal could be taken from the province and placed under a "Rooinek Affairs Department".¹⁶ Hence what was stressed in debates over the Bantu Education Bill was not so much African education per se but rather the erosion of provincial control. Headlines in the Natal press illustrate this emphasis: "Protest at curb on Natal: Transfer of Native Education opposed," and "Bantu Education Problem Faces Natal U.P: Steps to Recover Control by Province to be discussed," being two good examples.¹⁷ Robin, the Natal Mercury's political cartoonist,

14 Natal Mercury, 24 Sept. 1953.

15 Natal Mercury, Sept. 4 1953, "Native Education Bill Condemned" p.15.

16 Natal Witness, Sept. 25 1953, "Bantu Education Bill curtails an essential freedom." p.3.

produced a drawing which clearly illustrated the relationship between African education and the authority of the provincial council.¹⁸ (See appendix B) The South African Amendment Act (45 of 1934), stipulated that parliament could not abridge the powers conferred on provincial councils except if the provinces petitioned parliament to do so. However when this act was ignored by the Nationalist government the Natal Provincial Council passed a motion in which it declared,

The provincial council records its emphatic protest at the actions of the government with proceeding with the Bantu Education bill without excluding Natal from its provisions in spite of the official request to the contrary by the provincial council and in conflict with the moral and legal obligations of Act 45 of 1934.¹⁹

One councillor said, "The government had deliberately violated a solemn promise given ten years ago in ignoring Natal's protest against the education bill."²⁰ Yet despite the efforts of the majority of both Natal's M.P.'s and M.P.C.'s the Bantu Education Bill was passed and became an act on the 5 October 1953.

Natal's missions and churches were also ultimately to protest the passing of the Bantu Education act. At first during the debates on the bill the churches were surprisingly quiet. Concern was focused more on the acquisition of privileges, such as the pension provident fund, for those new schools that would be affected by the act.²¹

17 Natal Mercury, Oct.16 1953. p.5.

Natal Mercury, Oct.15 1953. p.9.

18 Natal Mercury, 6 October 1953, p.9.

19 Ibid., 20 October 1953, "UP Motion on Bantu Education." p.9.

20 Ibid., 21 October 1953, "Natal's M.P.C.'s protest over Bantu Education Bill." p.1.

21 S.A Outlook, Vol.83, Sept. 1953, p.129.

In principle many churches welcomed government control of African education, especially as most missions were experiencing financial difficulties.²² Many church missions felt it was the governments duty to assume greater responsibility in this sphere.²³ The S.A Outlook, a journal which dealt with missionary affairs, reported in October 1953 that it was about time the government recognized its responsibility to educating 60-70% of South Africa's population.²⁴ Little protest is evident against the actual content of the proposed education order at this early stage. However as the act was implemented throughout 1954 increasing discontent amongst the various churches was noticeable. At the general assembly of the Presbyterian church held in Durban in September a resolution was passed which claimed that because Bantu education was an education system perpetuating servitude it was "contrary to the will of God."²⁵ In October the American Board Mission, which had 109 African schools throughout Natal and taught some 20 000 pupils, claimed that it was unable to co-operate with the government in implementing the Bantu Education Act. A newspaper article in November headed, "We must obey God", included the Anglican church's protest to the implementation of the Bantu Education Act.²⁶ The Methodists too made their opposition to the act known.²⁷ However criticism from the churches had little effect in halting the implementation of this act. In fact G.C Grant,

22 J. Hyslop, "Transition from "missionary" to "bantu" education." p.10.

23 The Presbyterian church stated that it was not opposed to the principle of state education. South African Outlook, 1954, p.145.

24 Ibid. pp.149-150.

25 Daily News, 23 Sept. 1954, "Bantu Education is against the will of God say Presbyterians." also reported in S.A Outlook, Vol.84 (Oct 1954) p.145.

26 Daily News, 11 November 1954, "We must obey God: Bishop and State edict."

27 S.A Outlook, Vol.84 (November 1954) p.164.

who had been foremost in criticising the 1953 Bantu Education Bill, indicated just how resolute the government became in implementing this system,

...as a result of our opposition to the bill - at least that is our reading of the situation - the Government swiftly took its revenge. Early in 1954 just as the new school year was about to begin, five C.I.D representatives turned up at the college armed with a warrant to search my office and home.²⁸

As the decade progressed mission influence within African education was dismantled by the state. First, all teacher training colleges were taken over to the Native Affairs Department. Then teacher salary subsidies, previously provided by the central government, were reduced by 25% per annum. After four years these subsidies ceased and this added an extra burden to private mission schools. The missions can be divided into 5 groups:

1. Those missions who surrendered their schools and were relieved to loose the financial burden.
2. Other missions accepted the policy of the Native Affairs Department hoping to make the best of a bad deal.
3. Some missions surrendered their secondary schools but continued to administer their primary institutions. e.g The Roman Catholic Missions.
4. Others closed down their schools completely and therefore denied the Native Affairs Department the use of their facilities.
5. Some missions continued to operate within N.A.D control hoping to provide "honest" education.²⁹

Despite the actions of a number of Natal missions to remain private by campaigning for extra funds, by the end of the decade the influence of the missionary had been

28 Grant, Liquidation of Adams College, p.12.

29 Ibid.

considerably reduced and replaced by state dominance. For example Adams College was successful in attaining an increased subsidy of \$10 000 from donors in Boston. Yet by 1956, due to escalating costs and government pressure, the school was sold to the Native Affairs Department. In January 1957 the college was renamed the Amanzimtoti Zulu Training School at the American Board Mission's insistence.

Natal, unlike the Eastern Cape and the East Rand, was to experience no mass protests from African students or parents. While the A.N.C. called for nation-wide stayaways at a meeting held in Durban in December 1954 the executive claimed that "progress on Bantu Education was very slow in all provinces."³⁰ A few articles appear in the Natal press written by Africans criticizing the Bantu Education Act.³¹ While some of the parents were critical of the new education order many parents who previously had been unable to send their children to school approved of the new set up. However despite protest from numerous quarters in Natal the government went ahead in implementing the Bantu Education Act.

However it can be argued that what the churches were protesting about was more the rhetoric used by the National Party in justifying its policy than the actual content of "Bantu" education. The government's honesty in claiming that this was an education system designed to place the African in a position of servitude excited much criticism. Yet the actual curriculum was not dissimilar from that used by the Natal Education Department in its "Native" education. The difference between the two lay mostly in

³⁰ Lodge, Black Politics, p.121

³¹ Natal Mercury, 23 September 1954, "Bantu Education Prospects: African viewpoint."

the manner in which they were justified. Natal's "Native" education was promoted by the education department as laying out the route to future fulfillment and fruition of the African race as it reached a "civilized" state.

"Bantu" education was justified to the white electorate by emphasising the hegemonic devices inherent in the system. Afrikaner Nationalists believed Africans should occupy an inferior role in society both politically and in the realm of the economy. These sentiments were openly expressed by National Party M.Ps in the House of Assembly debates as early as 1945. As one put it.

We should not give Natives an academic education as some people are to prone to do. If we do this we shall be burdened with a number of academically trained Africans, and who will do manual labour in this country? I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct our schools that the native who attends them will know to a greater extent he must be the labourer of this country.³²

Yet similarities between "Native" and "Bantu" education are numerous. The first and perhaps most important similarity was the existence of a "blueprint" for the social development of Africans. Both "Native" and "Bantu" education systems were based on the philosophy of forcing Africans to "develop" separately. The function of the school was to encourage pupils to accept their subservient and inferior position in society as being normal and natural. As the reproduction of unskilled labour revolved around the continued existence of the reserves and the homelands both education policies endorsed a rural existence for the African people. Both "Native" and "Bantu" education, advocated specific education systems for Africans, which were designed to reproduce labour power along

32 House of Assemble Debates, vol.52 (April 1945)

racial lines.

Also both education systems desired the elimination of outside influence in black education so that they could unify the way in which the schools were administered and conducted. Education could only function as an ideological apparatus if all opposition and "deviant" influences were eliminated. "Native" education had begun to take over the missionary schools and implement a state school program. However "Bantu" education was backed up by legislation which made it a criminal offence to establish a school without the prior approval of the minister of Native Affairs³³. Also all missionaries were slowly forced to surrender their schools over to the control of the Native Affairs Department or face the suspension of all grants and subsidies. "Bantu" education, because of this institutional backing was vastly more successful than Natal's "Native" education which had a similar objective but due to restricted funding and poor enforcement was never able to gain anything like absolute control over the missionaries. Consequently, due to this elimination of competing views, "Bantu" education was in a better position to function as an ideological apparatus than the older Natal system.

The schools that were allowed to exist after 1953 were government schools, government-aided schools and Bantu community schools. The Bantu community schools were similar to the Tribal schools set up under Chief Inspector Dent in Natal. The Bantu community schools were run and administered by Africans through Bantu regional, local and domestic councils or boards under the strict supervision of the Native Affairs Department and replaced the role of the missionary grantee. These schools, which were estab-

33 Rose and Turner, Documents, p.259.

lished on 1 April 1955, superseded some 5000 schools which had previously been administered by Protestant church bodies. Many of Natal's state schools were also later converted to Bantu community schools.³⁴ The rationale behind this move was to eliminate church influence in the schools and to add legitimacy to the claim that Africans were being given a chance to shape their own development. The department stated that Bantu community schools were designed to provide Africans with a chance for active participation in the control and management of the government Bantu schools and Bantu community schools. Another important motivation for the establishment of these schools was that the responsibility of funding them now rested with the African communities.

The Native Affairs Department also made sure that it had full control over all teacher training institutions³⁵ just as the Natal Education Department had done earlier in Natal. Also in an attempt to cater for the largest number of possible students, the double shift session, a device which chief inspector Dent had previously introduced to Natal's urban areas, was adopted by the Native Affairs Department.³⁶ Under "Bantu" education teachers in the lower primary school were asked to give two 3 1/2 hour sessions a day. It was calculated by the department that in this way an extra 200 000 pupils could be accommodated within the lower primary schools,³⁷ an important development if "Bantu" education was to function as an ideological tool.

34 Bantu Education Journal, vol.1, no.9 (August 1955) p.17.

35 Rose and Turner, Documents, p.262.

36 Ibid., p.263.

37 Figure obtained from pamphlet, F.J Van Wyk, "The Bantu Education Act: A brief analysis of this act and some comments on it.", SAIRR, ref.AD1158/6d2 (CPSA Lib. Un.Wits).

Also a journal was launched by the Native Affairs Department aimed at African teachers and the school councillors. This journal's aims mirror those of the Native Teacher's Journal. Their publication, the Bantu Education Journal, had a similar objective: to co-ordinate and correlate the administration and teaching strategies throughout the country. Each issue was circulated around every school and the department required all teachers to sign that they had read and absorbed its contents.³⁸ The journal tended to mix statistical data with excessive praise for the system. Just one such example must suffice: "Separate development is a tree which the government gave the Bantu of South Africa. As the Bantu of South Africa you are already picking some fruit from the tree of separate development. Those are the positive results of this policy." No articles appeared in the journal critically questioning the direction of "Bantu" education or separate development.

In the area of content similarities can again be detected between the two education systems. Loram's theme of "adaptive education", the necessity of the school to appreciate the needs of the community it was located in, was inherent in the new syllabuses. Verwoerd said,

A Bantu pupil must obtain knowledge, skills and attitudes in the school which will be useful and advantageous to him and at the same time beneficial to his community. The subject matter must be presented to him in such a way that he can understand it and master it easily, making it his own, to the benefit and service of his community. The school must equip him to meet the demands which the economic life of South Africa will impose upon him. The Bantu teacher must be integrated as an active agent in the process of the development of the African community. He must learn not to feel above his community with a consequent desire to become integrated into the life of the European community.³⁹

38 Robertson, "Education in South Africa", p.161.

Let us briefly investigate which subjects were incorporated into the new curriculum and what were the content of these subjects. What parallels can be drawn between the content of the two education systems?

Again the various African languages were sanctioned as the official medium of instruction in the primary school. The B.E.J argued in the draft syllabus that, "Strong emphasis must however, still be laid on the Bantu languages, and the principle of mother tongue instruction must also be applied here in order that the pupil may be able to use his own language for his needs in a civilized society".⁴⁰ Verwoerd complained that numerous teachers had not adhered to this directive in the past and much teaching at the primary level had been in English. This trend, he claimed, had been motivated in part by the desire of the teachers to show off their knowledge of English culture. The habit of conveying knowledge to pupils in the same words that the teachers had received them was another reason given. He warned,

It is clear that an education provided in this form must stand isolated from the life of Bantu society. It prepares them not for life within a Bantu community, progressively uplifted by education, but for a life outside the community and for posts which in fact do not exist.

Hence the designers of "Bantu" education also perceived language as a crucial pillar for the maintenance of ethnic identities. Initially in different parts of South Africa each race was to receive instruction in the race's own language. Hence Zulu children continued to be taught in

39 Henrick Verwoed, speech delivered in the Senate, June 7, 1954. also in Rose and Tumner, Documents, p.262.
 40 B.E.J, vol. 1 no.8 p.242.

the Zulu language in the Natal's lower primary schools as had been the practice under "Native" education.

Environmental Study was included in the draft syllabus of 1954 for the lower primary school. The subject was a composite of various other subjects including Geography, History and Nature Study. The standard 2 syllabus included, "Types of work" which outlined the different tasks done by the people in the area surrounding the school and "the contributions they made to the happiness and progress of the community", "Climate", "Links with the Past" and "Flora and Fauna of our district". The directive which applied to this subject maintained, "This study should not go beyond that of the district and should be adapted to the child's environment."⁴¹ The subject's aim was to begin instilling in the child the belief that his traditional place was in the countryside and to reinforce the tribal identity. Even the games which the children were permitted to play were chosen as to their suitability to this end. The B.E.J called on teachers to select games "known to the children and belonging to their cultural heritage."⁴²

The draft syllabus for the higher primary was also constructed to promote similar ideals. In general the curriculum was designed to "help in the development of a progressive Bantu community on a Christian basis which endeavored to acquaint the pupil with his own social institutions."⁴³

Social Studies incorporated four sections; a) Geography, b) History, c) Citizenship and good conduct and d) Safety first. Each section was taught separately but performed as

⁴¹ B.E.J, vol.1 no.2 (Dec. 1954) p.24.

⁴² Ibid. p.29.

⁴³ B.E.J, vol.1 no.8 p.242.

a unit within the curriculum to reinforce the values which needed to be disseminated. The aims of this course, as outlined to the teaching community in the B.E.J., included:

a) The realization by the Bantu child that he is a member of a particular community and that he is bound by various ties to particular groups of people as they are represented in his home, his school, his church, his village, his tribe. these groups serve him directly or indirectly and he in turn should offer them loyalty and co-operation.

b) The acceptance by the Bantu child in an intelligent manner of the fact that the welfare and progress of his community depends on the contribution made towards it by each of its members. He should therefore, know how his own people and others earn a living, he should realize the value of the work that they do for the community and should be convinced that he must work if he wishes to lead a useful and contented life. He should realize that the welfare of the individual depends upon the welfare of the community.

c) The knowledge which he gains should encourage him to take into consideration constantly the interests of other people...he must realize that laws are necessary for the people of any community who are harmoniously living together. Consequently teaching should lead the child to do naturally, and therefore willingly, what society has prescribed as good and commendable.⁴⁴

In standard 3, for example, history and social life investigated the life style of various tribes. The course covered origins, local history, physical appearance and "mode of life" (a term which identified types of traditional dress, housing, tillage, animal husbandry, arts and crafts and notable customs.)⁴⁵ The course strove to emphasize Af-

44 There is a copy of the draft curriculum and accompanying syllabusses for the higher primary school in B.E.J., vol.1 no.8 (July 1955) p.269.

45 Ibid. p.272.

rican ethnic differences which were crucial to apartheid. The standard 4 history syllabus included "the need for influx control" (due to the movement of people to the cities!) The course also covered the "contribution of the Bantu to their own development; share in local government, improvements in the reserves, contribution in taxes and how these funds are used".⁴⁶

Citizenship and good conduct meanwhile nurtured values which encouraged the children to accept a responsible role within the context of the tribal setting. standard 3's were being instructed on the child's duties, responsibilities and privileges in the home, village and school.⁴⁷ The standard 4 Citizenship course also called for instruction in "how the Bantu child is bound to the people of his home through birth, marriage, izibongo, totem, language, ownership of property, age groups etc." The course also tutored the children in the need for "respect for age, authority and fellow men and care of private property."⁴⁸ By standard 5 the pupils listened to talks on the need to "inculcate good habits: neatness, thrift, obedience, truth, self-reliance, temperance," as well as lessons on local government, the personal reference book, the labour bureaus, and curfews. The standard 5 classes were also told about state support of the blind, deaf, crippled, aged and lepers⁴⁹, perhaps to focus attention on the benevolent nature of the government.

As had been the case with the old Natal system, handwork, arts and crafts were retained. In the case of handwork,

⁴⁶ Ibid. p.275.

⁴⁷ Ibid. pp.272-273.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p.278.

gardening and needlework these were included mainly due to their "utilitarian" worth. However in the field of arts and crafts the Native Affairs Department sanctioned the need to develop "the essential character of Bantu arts and crafts"⁵⁰ and not adopt any exotic styles or use foreign materials. The department saw art as another subject which could reinforce the pupils traditional tribal links.

Agriculture and gardening were the main thrust of the subject Nature Study. Each course throughout the primary school was backed up by practical work. For example, standard 4 pupils during the year would study the atmosphere, water, soil, heat and light, plant life, veld grasses, seeds, roots and animal and bird life. However they would also have to lay out school grounds, plant trees and flowers and collect weeds as well as study the germination of seeds in the garden or in tins. The rural emphasis in this subject was particularly strong. The similarities between "Native" and "Bantu" education in terms of course content is plain.

So in the eyes of its supporters how was "Bantu" education better suited to the needs of the economy and the demands of politicians than Natal's old system. "Bantu" education was this country's first attempt to make black schooling mass education. As the years progressed a high percentage of African children spent at least a few years in a "Bantu" school. By the early 1950's Natal's system catered for only a fraction of the school-aged children who lived in the province despite departmental aspirations to evolve into a mass system. The Native Affairs Department was successful in eliminating the influence of the church. In contrast the Natal Education Department was never able to eradicate the influence of others outside the department.

⁵⁰ Ibid. p.243.

Both missionaries and private individuals did not entirely lose the prerogative to decide the manner in which their schools were conducted. Although it is true that the Natal Education Department did have some influence as a result of their system of subsidies, grants and department inspectors' visits, except in government schools, the department did not always have the final say in how each school should be run.

"Bantu" education was superior as an ideological device because it covered the entire country and not just a single province. The complaints made in the 1940's by the Natal Education Department and various school officials that many of the disturbances at African schools were the work of agitators from outside the province, demonstrated the limitations of so small an area of influence. The Eiselen Commission pinpointed the variety of education policies practiced by the different provincial administrations and considered them a major flaw in the existing educational framework. "Bantu" education was thus designed to standardize the education of blacks throughout the country in an attempt to eradicate all dissension to the state's philosophy of education.

While it is possible to identify many similarities between "Bantu" and "Native" education, in terms of both administrative objectives and course content, it is important to realize that "Native" education had reached a point where it was failing to function as its designers had initially intended. Evidence of this failure was provided by the student disturbances at various Natal schools as well as the dissatisfaction of both African teachers and parents with the existing system. Dissatisfaction with the existing education system also came from certain capitalists

who desired a more educated yet controllable African work force. The reasons why "Native" education failed to realize its ideological function can be traced to insufficient funding, lack of total control over school administration, the inability to establish mass schooling within the province and the restriction of operating only in Natal. Hence in many ways "Bantu" education furthered the objectives of the architects of the Natal system. In duplicating many of the characteristics of "Native" education, "Bantu" education also promoted the idea of fostering a traditional African identity and a rural orientation, and therefore furthered the belief in separate roles for the different race groups in South African society.

"Bantu" education was, however, not implemented without protest. Numerous organizations such as the SAIRR, numerous missionary groups (the American Board Mission), and other liberal institutions (the Education League) complained that "Bantu" education was a badly concealed exercise in extending Afrikaner dominance and excluding Africans from full participation in the country's economic growth. For these reasons it was argued that "Bantu" education and segregation were not in the true interests of the African child. It has been argued here that the government was not motivated in the first instance by a genuine concern to uplift the African child but rather by the need to bolster the reserve and migrant labour systems; a demand placed on it from white capital. In Natal, the criticism of "Bantu" education emanating from the provincial authorities can be traced more to the fear over loss of provincial control than to the any identified or specific grievance with "Bantu" education's content or design. In fact the similarities between what the provincial government in Natal and the Native Affairs Department con-

sidered as an appropriate education system for the Africans were numerous. In fact "Bantu" education supplemented "Native" education in those areas where the Natal system had proved ineffectual. A continuity can be identified between these two education systems in terms of both the content and administrative aims as well as the philosophy which backed them.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

One objective of this thesis was to demonstrate that Natal's "Native" education was not as "uplifting" to African children as various liberal educationists and theorists would argue. "Native" education was the first education system designed around a specific blueprint for African "development". In this case around the doctrines of the liberal segregationists. This education system's real aim was to perpetuate the social relations of production - to maintain the status quo. In order to use African education to disseminate values which would justify this stratification of Natal society the Natal Education Department set out to eliminate any source of opposition or dissension. Throughout the period under analysis the provincial government pursued a policy whereby it assumed greater influence and control over black education. Missionaries slowly surrendered their autonomy to the province as they either handed over their schools to the government or accepted state subsidies.

The content of government and government-aided "Native" schools curricula was considered by the department to be

crucial in the dissemination of segregationist values. Subjects throughout the curriculum promoted a rural orientation, a tribal identity and emphasized a practical rather than an academic slant. The themes of "education-for-life" and "adaptive-education" demonstrate how the department promoted the countryside as being the traditional and "natural" home of the Zulu.

The "Native" education curriculum did not provide adequate preparation for Africans who desired skilled or semi-skilled jobs. Lacking a working knowledge of English, few vocational skills above manual labour and little familiarity with logical or abstract concepts, Africans were at a distinct disadvantage in competing for these positions. In the eyes of the segregationists, skilled and semi-skilled careers were the preserve of whites. Africans in search of skilled positions were expected to find them in the "developing" rural economies of the reserves. Hence not only did "Native" education aim at creating in the Zulu a "sense of belonging" in the countryside, the curriculum also made it difficult to transfer school knowledge to an urban context. "Native" education was formulated to perpetuate the "natural" separation of the races. This education system, despite the claims made by liberal educationists, did not have the welfare of African children at heart. In reality it aimed at protecting the interests of the white community and attempted to limit the entrance of Africans to subordinate positions in the province's economic and political arena.

The second task of this thesis was to demonstrate a continuity between "Native" and "Bantu" education. "Bantu" education was the government's first real attempt to utilize the ideological function of mass education on a national scale. In many ways Natal provided the prototype. Numerous characteristics are shared by both education systems. However, by 1953 Natal's "Native" education system was failing to perform the tasks for which it was designed. Opposition from both parents and students proved that it was failing to gain the acquiescence of the Zulu to the way in which Natal society was structured. The various other provinces either had no state African education systems or ones which were nowhere near as sophisticated as Natal's. Hence when "Bantu" education was developed partly as a response to the failings of the provincial education systems only one "state" model existed. It is not surprising that many of the basic assumptions of "Bantu" education were similar to the Natal system, especially as they shared the objective of perpetuating social distinctions. However the new system had a number of advantages over the provincial system in order to ensure its effectiveness especially in those areas where Natal's African education system had proved unsuccessful .

"Bantu" education was designed around a blueprint for African "development". It too attempted to tap the ideological function that is present in mass education. The Native Affairs Department realised the need to centralize all control of education administration if it wished to maximize this ideological effect. In this respect it was vast-

ly superior to the Natal system as it succeeded in gaining control of all African schools. The Native Affairs Department controlled a network of schools that spanned the country. Dissension could therefore be controlled and eliminated. Backed by the Bantu Education Act the department quickly squeezed out the missionaries and neutralized their influence. All African schools, including private institutions, came under government control and influence. Consequently all curricula were standardized. The curriculum in "Bantu" schools, like those of the Natal system, emphasized each tribes rural heritage and identity. Lessons focused on the development of rural skills for farming rather than on abstract or academic abilities.

The underlying motive of "Bantu" education was to maintain the social relations of production through bolstering the migrant labour system. The Bantu Authorities Act (1951) which gave the homelands a greater measure of self government, was complemented by the passing of the Bantu Education Act with its rural focus. While the Bantu Education Act was part of the battery of Apartheid legislation designed to protect Afrikaner nationalism it was also consistent with the nation's economic needs. "Bantu" education was the necessary successor to the provincial systems because it was part of a broader scheme initiated by the ruling elite which attempted to maintain the social status quo. It was designed to gain the consent of the masses to the way in which South African society was structured.

The continuity between "Native" and "Bantu" education be-

comes apparent when we consider Gramsci's arguments. Gramsci's theories are based on struggle and competition. He claimed that the official ideology is constantly under attack by counter-ideologies, both of which vie for the support of the masses. The official ideology must therefore be both flexible and adaptable in order to protect the essential economic interests of the ruling elite yet maintain the consent of the masses. Consequently societal institutions are never static but are constantly undergoing revision and restructuring. The state's official education system, an important ideological device, is no exception. (Gramsci rated education as the largest disseminator of "culture" within society.¹) The provincial African education systems, including Natal's, were no longer performing their function. Parent protests and student unrest demonstrated that these education systems had not only created opposition in the subordinate classes but had failed to secure their approval to the way in which the ruling elite administered society. The failure of the Natal system indicated that in order to be successful the scale of operation had to be on a national level. Also with the dictates of the economy demanding more semi-skilled operators due to the boom in the industrial sector and because of the desire to control the rate of black ur-

1 A.Gramsci, "Notes for an Introduction and an Approach to the Study of Philosophy and the History of Culture", Forgas, A Gramsci Reader, p.342.

banization, the state deemed it necessary to revamp the country's black education system. "Bantu" education was therefore a necessary successor to "Native" education as it strengthened the segregationist policy initiated in Natal. "Bantu" education was designed to bring about the division of South African society which the Natal Education Department policy makers had struggled in vain to achieve. Consequently the Bantu Education Act was not a break, but a continuation of the educational tradition in Natal.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Native Teachers' Journal, Vol 1 no.4, July 1920, pp.172-175.

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SYLLABUS OF MORAL AND CIVIC INSTRUCTION.

(Under 7 years).

I.—*Cleanliness*: 1. Clean hands, faces, and clothes. 2. Clean habits, e.g., the proper use of the lavatory.

II.—*Tidiness*: 1. In the home, school, and street. 2. Personal tidiness. 3. Care of furniture, books, toys, and other property.

III.—*Manners*: 1. Greetings at home and at school. 2. Behaviour at meals. 3. Punctuality and promptness.

IV.—*Kindness*: 1. Love to parents. 2. Kindness to each other in the home, school, and street. 3. Kindness to animals, e.g., dogs and cats.

V.—*Fairness*: 1. Mine and thine. 2. Fairness towards others.

VI.—*Truthfulness*: 1. Telling the truth. 2. Confidence in parents and teachers to be encouraged.

VII.—*Courage*: 1. When alone. 2. Darkness, shadows, and strange noises.

STANDARD I. (7-8 years).

I.—*Cleanliness*: 1. Use and care of parts of the body, e.g., hair, eyes, ears, nose, lips, teeth, hands and feet. 2. Care of clothing.

II.—*Manners*: 1. In eating and drinking: moderation. 2. In question and answer: politeness. 3. In bearing: quietness, unobtrusiveness, patience in waiting. 4. Punctuality in the home and the school.

III.—*Kindness*: 1. To companions at play. 2. To pet animals, e.g., dogs. 3. To flies, worms, or harmless creatures. 4. To birds: their nests.

IV.—*Gratitude*: To parents and teachers. Ungrudging disposition, especially when favours are distributed, or when the success of others is under notice.

V.—*Truthfulness*: 1. In speech: the importance of exactness; the avoidance of exaggeration. 2. In manner: the importance of simplicity; the avoidance of affectation.

VI.—*Courage*: 1. Cheerful endurance of little pains and discomforts; manliness and womanliness. 2. Tale-bearing: when justifiable, e.g., to protect the weak

or innocent. 3. In relation to creatures inspiring instinctive fear in children, e.g., mice, frogs, spiders and beetles.

STANDARD II. (8-9 years).

I.—*Cleanliness*: 1. In the home. 2. In the school, playground, and street, e.g., the desist from scattering paper and orange peel. 3. Neatness in person and in work.

II.—*Manners*: 1. In speech: courtesy and clearness. 2. In bearing: orderliness in the streets. 3. How to perform a simple service, e.g., how to carry a message.

III.—*Honesty*: 1. Respect for the property of others. 2. Restoration of lost property. 3. Preserving and protecting property at home, at school, in parks, and other public places. 4. In work.

IV.—*Justice*: 1. To companions, in the school, playground, and home. 2. To the less fortunate, e.g., the weak, the imbeciles, stammerers, deformed.

V.—*Truthfulness*: Promises and confidences.

VI.—*Courage*: 1. To follow good example and to resist bad example. 2. To confess faults or accidents. 3. Under difficulties: self-reliance. 4. In bad weather, e.g., not to fear thunder and lightning.

VII.—*Self-Control*: 1. In food: preference for plain and wholesome fare. 2. In bearing: the avoidance of wilfulness, peevishness, obstinacy, sulkiness, violent temper, and quarrelling. 3. In speech: the avoidance of rudeness and hastiness. 4. In thought: checking of evil thoughts.

VIII.—*Work*: 1. Helping in the home. 2. The value of industry in the school.

STANDARD III. (9-10 years).

I.—*Manners*: 1. Refinement of language. 2. Behaviour in public places, decency. 3. Unselfishness. 4. Respectfulness towards the aged.

II.—*Humanity*: 1. Personal help to those in need. 2. Making other people happy. 3. Kindness to animals.

III.—*Obedience*: 1. Immediate and hearty obedience to parents and teachers. 2. Respect for rules and regulations.

IV.—*Justice*: 1. In thought, word, and act. 2. Forbearance. 3. Forgiveness, remembering our own faults.

V.—*Truthfulness*: 1. All the truth, and nothing but the truth. 2. Avoidance of prevarication and withholding part of the truth. 3. Avoidance of deception through manner or gesture. 4. The importance of frankness.

VI.—*Order*: 1. The value of system, e.g., a place for everything, and everything in its place. 2. The value of punctuality. 3. The value of promptness.

VII.—*Perseverance*: 1. In work: hard or distasteful tasks. 2. In play: fighting out a lost game. 3. In self-improvement.

STANDARD IV. (10-11 years).

I.—*Manners*: 1. Cheerfulness: evil of grumbling and fault-finding. 2. Self-consciousness: evil of conceit and shyness. 3. Modesty. 4. Self-respect.

II.—*Humanity*: As shown by public institutions, e.g., the fire brigade, lifeboat, lighthouses, hospitals, asylums, Red-Cross.

III.—*Honour*: 1. In the eyes of others: trustworthiness. 2. In the eyes of self: self-respect. 3. Avoidance of false pride.

IV.—*Justice*: 1. To others, e.g., not to spread infection. 2. Avoidance of cruelty to animals in pursuit of fashion, amusement, cruel sports, e.g., egret's feathers, the bearing-rein, pigeon-shooting, and docking of horses' tails. 3. The justification for restraint and punishment in the home and the school.

Truthfulness: 1. In reporting: correctness; avoidance of slander and gossip. 2. In action: candour; not to act a lie. 3. In thinking: eagerness for the truth. 4. Not to shirk a difficulty by a pretence of understanding.

VI.—*Prudence*: 1. Need of forethought and care in speech and action. 2. Temperance in eating and drinking, in work, and in pleasure.

VII.—*Courage*: 1. The importance of courage; avoidance of bravado. 2. Presence of mind; avoidance of panic.

VIII.—*Work*: 1. Pride in thorough work. 2. Use of leisure time: value of hobbies.

STANDARD V. (11-12 years).

I.—*Habits*: 1. How acquired. 2. How cultivated and avoided. 3. Harmfulness of juvenile smoking.

II.—*Manners*: 1. Courtesy and respect towards all. 2. Self-restraint.

III.—*Patriotism*: 1. Pride in one's school and loyalty to it. 2. Duty of local patriotism: how to serve one's town or village. 3. The value of local institutions.

IV.—*Justice*: 1. To all human beings, irrespective of sex, age, creed, social position, nationality, or race; and to animals, tame and wild. 2. Charitableness in thought. 3. The value of courts of justice.

V.—*Truthfulness*: 1. Respect for differences of opinion. 2. Living for truth; readiness to receive new truths. 3. What men have sacrificed for truth.

VI.—*Zeal*: 1. The value of zeal and energy in overcoming difficulties. 2. The dangers of misdirected zeal, e.g., bigotry, fanaticism.

VII.—*Work*: 1. The necessity for and dignity of labour. 2. The earning of a living: different pursuits—their responsibilities and social value.

VIII.—*Thrift*: 1. Money: its uses and abuses. 2. Economy in little things. 3. Wise spending: avoidance of extravagance and wastefulness.

STANDARD VI. (12-13 years).

I.—*Manners*: 1. As shown by dress. 2. By choice of friends, literature and amusements. 3. By kindness to younger children. 4. In boys: by special courtesy to all women and girls.

II.—*Courage*: 1. Heroic deeds done in the service of man: self-sacrifice. 2. Everyday heroism. 3. Chivalry: devotion of the strong to the weak. 4. Moral courage.

III.—*Patriotism*: 1. Love of country: national emblems. 2. What our forefathers have earned for us, e.g., liberty, social and political institutions. 3. How

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each individual may serve his country and posterity. 4. The Sovereign: his power, influence, and responsibilities.

IV.—*Peace and War*: 1. The value of peace and her victories. 2. The duty of citizens in time of war. 3. The evils of war.

V.—*Justice*: 1. Love of justice. 2. Just and unjust relations between employers and employed. 3. The rights of animals.

VI.—*Ownership*: 1. Talents and opportunities: responsibility for their use.

VII.—*Thrift*: 1. How and why to save: Savings Banks. 2. The cost of drink to the nation.

VIII.—*Truthfulness*: 1. Conquest of science over ignorance and superstition. 2. Progress of truth. 3. Love of truth.

IX.—*Conscience*: 1. The claims of conscience (individual and social). 2. The enlightenment of conscience. 3. The development of conscience.

VIII.—*Self-Respect*: Self-respect and self-restraint in thought, word, and act.

IX.—*Ideals*: The value and beauty of an ideal in life.

STANDARD VII. (13-14 years).

I.—*Patriotism*: 1. The vote: its nature and responsibilities. 2. Local government. 3. The nation and its government. 4. Society as an organism: its development through the family, tribe, and nation. 5. Universal brotherhood.

II.—*Peace and War*: 1. International relations: how nations can help each other. 2. Value of arbitration.

III.—*Justice*: 1. The development of the idea of justice from the earliest times. 2. The development of the human spirit in laws. 3. The development of the idea of equality.

IV.—*Ownership*: 1. Individual and collective ownership. 2. Responsibilities of ownership. 3. Care of borrowed books, tools, etc.

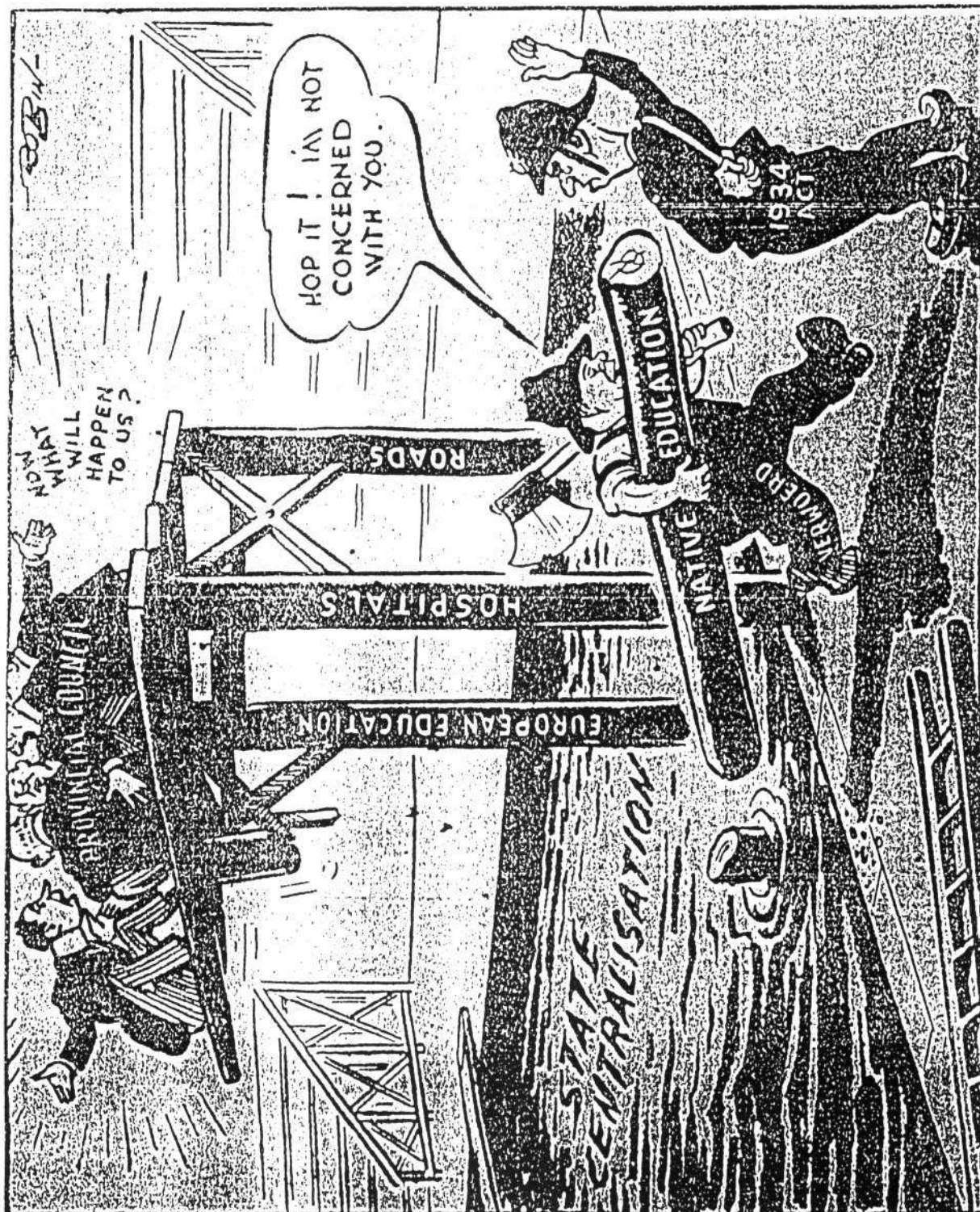
V.—*Thrift*: 1. Simplicity of living. 2. The evils of debt. 3. The evils of betting and gambling: meanness of the desire to get without rendering service.

VI.—*Co-operation*: 1. Between citizens. 2. Between nations: in commerce, art, and thought.

VII.—*The Will*: 1. The training of the will. 2. The right to be done intelligently, unhesitatingly, thoroughly, cheerfully, and zealously. 3. Danger of mental and moral sloth.

Appendix B

Natal Mercury, 6 October 1953



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